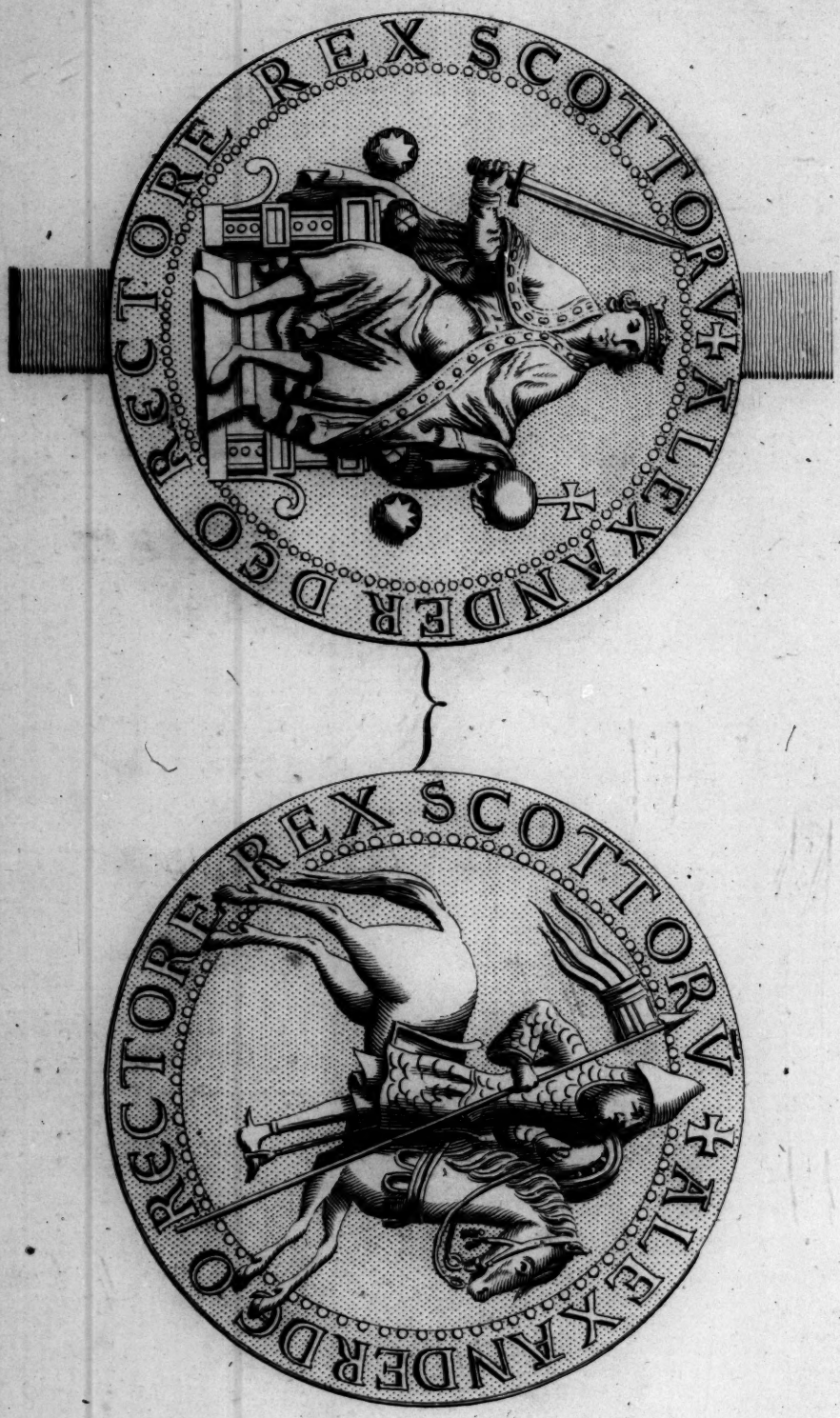
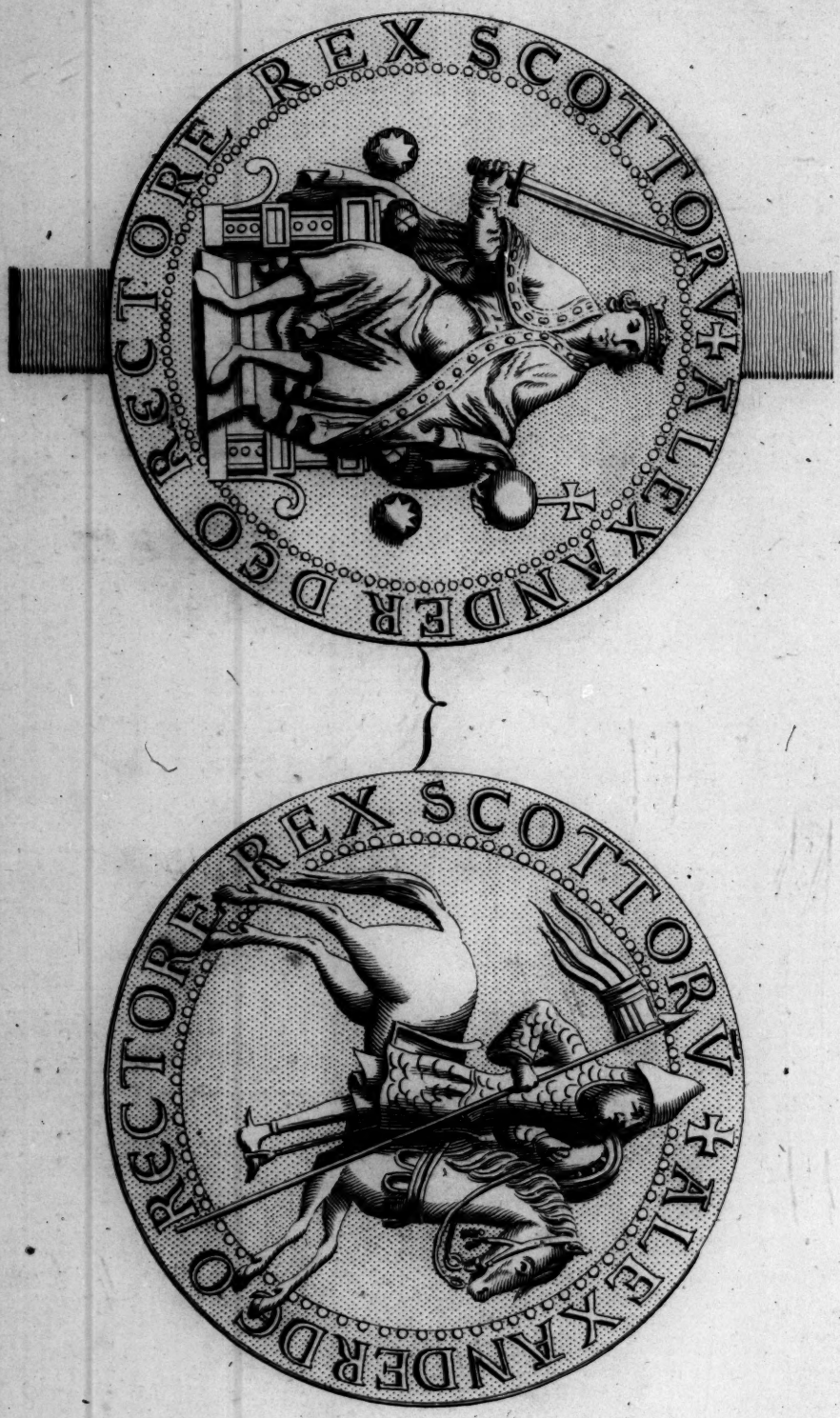

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A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND,

FROM

THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS

TO

THE PRESENT TIME.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

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MDCCLXVIII.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

A GENERAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

MARY.

THE French court was now very earneſt with the queen-regent to lay before the Scotch parliament, the obligations the nation was under to act offenſively againſt the Engliſh, who were then in actual war with France, according to the tenor of the treaties, I have often mentioned. The queen-regent aſſembled a parliament at Newbottle, in Mid Lothian, where ſhe laid before the members the requeſt made by the French king, and peremptorily inſiſted upon their declaring war againſt England. They anſwered with great firmneſs, that they had nothing to apprehend from that court; that its diſpoſitions were pacific; and

A.D. 1557.

A parliament.

A. D. 1557. that negotiations between the two crowns were then going on at Carliſle. This behaviour of the Scotch parliament, did not diſconcert the queen-mother. She ſent repeated orders to D'Oyſſel to continue building the fort at Eymouth, to ſtreigthen the garriſon of Berwick; and, in ſhort, to omit no kind of hoſtility againſt their intereſt. The earl of Weſtmoreland, one of the Engliſh commiſſioners at Carliſle, informed the earl of Shrewſbury, that the Scots were trifling; and that their troops were acting in a manner directly contrary to the language of their commiſſioners at Carliſle. His letter is dated on the ninth of June, and contains many particulars of hoſtilities daily committed by the Scots againſt the Engliſh. It is almoſt incredible, that after thoſe provocations, the Engliſh court was ſo unwilling to come to a determined rupture, that the negotiations continued; and on the thirteenth of July, a truce for two months was agreed upon by both parties, provided the reſpective ſovereigns approved.

Differences with England. The queen-regent, far from agreeing to this truce, ſent a peremptory requiſition to queen Mary of England, demanding that ſhe ſhould withdraw her troops from the Low Countries; and threatening her, if that was refuſed, with an immediate declaration of war. A demand of that kind, ſo indefenſible in itſelf, and ſo unexpected at the time it was made, exaſperated the queen of England ſo much, that hearing

hearing the queen-regent was advanced to Dunbar, with the Scotch, or rather the French army, she talked of taking the field in person; and some preparations were actually made for that purpose. A. D. 1557.

The situation of the queen-regent was now very different from what it had formerly been. She was, indeed, devoted to the interest of France, and eager for the union of Scotland with that crown, by means of a marriage between her daughter and the dauphin; but she was obliged to pursue that measure in an indirect manner, very contrary to her inclination, by courting the Scotch nobility, the majority of whom were the declared friends of the Reformation. She now lay under another disadvantage. The clergy, formerly the great support of the French interest, were no longer jealous of the English nation, which had, at its head, a queen according to their own mind; and they were even disgusted at the partiality which the queen-regent and the French interest had shewn in favour of heretics. This was one main cause of the queen-regent's miscarriage in the parliament at Newbottle; but she found resources in the great supplies she received from France, and in the earl of Huntley, and other Scotch noblemen of the old religion, or sworn enemies to England. In the collections that have been made by English authors, we have a great number

of

A. D. 1557. of particulars relating to the hoſtilities now carried on; but as the war was little better than prædatory, I ſhall confine myſelf to the moſt important circumſtances.

The earl of Huntley declared general on the borders.

The earl of Huntley, in the beginning of Auguſt, was declared warden-general of the Scotch borders, and was directed to begin hoſtilities as ſoon as poſſible. The Scotch army was then lying at Dunbar; but that of the French was ſtill farther advanced towards Berwick, under the command of D'Oyſſel, and one Chartebuſy. The Engliſh army was to be commanded by the earls of Shrewſbury and Weſtmoreland; but they found the northern countries ſo diſaffected to the ſervice, that they refuſed either to go into garriſon, or to take the field before the Scots entered England. This objection was ſoon removed by the earls of Huntley and Hume, with the two baſtard brothers of the young queen, the lords James and Robert, filling their neighbourhood with ravages, and putting all to the ſword who made reſiſtance. It is hard to ſay what the event might have been, had not Henry Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, a gentleman of ſpirit and great intereſt in the north of England, prevailed with the freeholders, and the chief gentry there who joined him, by which he ſaved the caſtle of Ford, and threw himſelf into that of Alnwick, thereby preventing it from falling into the hands of the Scots.

Scots. The eaſt marches of England, however, continued to be in great danger; but Piercy being reinforced by part of the garriſon of Berwick, made ſo good an appearance, that the invaders thought proper to retire. According to Piercy's own account, he purſued his enemies into the Merſe, where he burnt ſixteen towns, and carried off a large booty, beſides ſome priſoners. A. D. 1557.

The queen-regent, during this inroad into England, had aſſembled a very conſiderable army. D'Oyſſel had been at great pains to teach the Scotch ſoldiers the French diſcipline; and mention is made in the Engliſh records, of an encounter between the earl of Huntley, and the earl of Northumberland, who was appointed warden of the Engliſh marches, in which the latter was repulſed; but I apprehend that this muſt have happened in the laſt inroad I have mentioned; for upon the retreat of the Scotch army towards Maxwell-Heugh, they became very cool in the proſecution of an offenſive war with England. This was owing to the violence of the queen and the French party, who thought that the ſucceſs of their arms would get the better of the backwardneſs of the Scots to enter England; and therefore the queen-regent inſiſted moſt furiouſly, that the whole army ſhould paſs the Tweed. The duke of Chatleheraut oppoſed this propoſal; and the army, in general, refuſed

The French diſcipline introduced among the Scots.

A. D. 1557. refuſed to ſerve in another kingdom, at the command of the queen-regent. The Engliſh were well acquainted with thoſe ſentiments of the Scots; and both armies lay inactive within ſix miles of Berwick, the officers of both paying viſits, and acts of civility, to each other. It was at laſt agreed, that the ſtate of the war ſhould be referred to a parliament, or rather an aſſembly of the nobility, which was accordingly ſummoned by the queen-regent to meet at Edinburgh, towards the end of the ſame month. The Engliſh army, at this time, amounted to eighteen, or at leaſt ſixteen thouſand men, of whom ſix thouſand were cavalry.

Moderation of the Engliſh court.

The diſputes among the Scots might have been fatal to them, had it not been for the almoſt unexampled moderation of the Engliſh court. The earl of Shrewſbury, and their chief officers in the North, received repeated orders to have a vigilant eye upon the motions of the Scots; but to lie upon the defenſive, and to ſpare no money in obtaining intelligence. They were obliged to comply with thoſe orders without daring to attack the French, who continued to be encamped near Berwick, while the Scotch army lay at Edinburgh, waiting the reſult of the determinations of the aſſembly that had been ſummoned. The duke of Chatleheraut, and other Scotch noblemen, at this time held a cloſe correſponce with the Engliſh government; ſo that the latter were under no apprehenſions from

from their enemies, as long as they ſhould continue upon the defenſive. A cartel, in the intermediate time, was ſettled for the exchange of priſoners. A.D. 1555.

In the meeting of the nobility at Edinburgh, the French intereſt prevailed for the continuance of the war; on pretence of an attempt made by the Engliſh againſt the fort at Eymouth. On the ſeventh of September, the army began its march in three diviſions, the firſt was commanded by the earl of Huntley, the center by the duke of Chatleheraut, and the rear by the earl of Caſſils. The duke was now a ſtrenuous partizan for England; and he had accepted of the nomination, with an intention to defeat the French party in the councils of war. The ſiege of Berwick was propoſed to be undertaken; but when the affair came to be debated, the duke oppoſed it with ſuch firmneſs, that the queen-regent deſpaired of bringing the Scots to act offenſively; and they remained to the ſixteenth of that month in an unactive ſtate. It is plain, from Sir Henry Piercy's letters, that the duke of Chatleheraut, at this time, held a cloſe correſpondence with him, and the other Engliſh nobility; and even entertained ſpies about the queen-regent's perſon. This correſpondence was unknown to the earl of Shrewſbury, and the Engliſh generals in the North; for when the earls of Weſtmoreland and Derby, underſtanding that the Scotch army had reſumed their march about the ſecond of

Hoſtilities recommence between Scotland and England.

A. D. 1557. October, had muſtered their army, and were preparing to fight them, they were countermanded by an order from the Engliſh court. As the Scotch army had been ordered to furniſh themſelves only with forty days proviſions, the time was almoſt elapſed, when D'Oyſſel, without waiting for the reſult of the council's deliberations, on the ſeventeenth of October paſſed the Tweed with his French troops and artillery, attended by ſome of the moſt forward of the Scots, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Wark, which was bravely defended by a gentleman of the name of Slingſby.

Inſolent conduct of the French.

The queen-regent, at the time of this unauthorized, and inſolent enterprize, was at Kelſo. It was evident, that D'Oyſſel had undertaken it, in order to fulfil her promiſes to the French court. The Scotch nobility, with the duke of Chatleheraut at their head, met at Maxwell Heugh, where they paſſed an act, juſtifying the duke of Chatleheraut's proceedings, in refuſing to enter England, and ordaining the army to be brought back; and the ſiege of the caſtle of Wark to be left, (raiſed) for ſuch is the word of the record. This act was a defeazance of the queen-regent's authority; but the reſentment of the nobility did not ſtop there. The duke of Chatleheraut was authorized to acquaint her, in plain terms, that they were reſolved not to pay the French king's general an obedience, which they had formerly refuſed to their own princes; meaning, that the latter had always

Oct. 25.

con-

consulted their nobility before they invaded England. They, at the same time, threatened to make D'Oyssel answer for his conduct with his head, if she did not exclude his influence from her councils. The earl of Huntley was the only nobleman, present, who opposed those resolutions; for which they put him under arrest. I perceive, however, that some talk was held in the council, about concluding a peace with England, without the queen-regent's authority, which might be the reason of that nobleman's being confined. The queen-regent received the news, at Kelso, with great indignation, when communicated to her by the duke of Chatleheraut, and other noblemen, deputed for that purpose. In vain did she make use of prayers, menaces, and even tears, to prevail with them to alter their resolution; for they continued firm in it; and she was obliged to sign an order for D'Oyssel to raise the siege. A. D. 1557.

The conduct of the Scotch nobility in this expedition, however spirited and patriotic it was, is not entirely defensible, because they made no provision for the safe retreat of their army, which the duke of Chatleheraut might easily have done, by means of his correspondents. The English generals could scarcely credit their own good fortune; for it appears, from their own records, that their troops were in a most miserable condition to have resisted an invasion; and many of them had actually Policy of the Scotch nobility.

A. D. 1557. mutiny'd for want of pay, and all kind of neceſſaries. The retreat of the Scots gave them freſh ſpirits. The lords Wharton and Evers, with a detachment from the garriſon of Berwick, made an irruption into Scotland, and deſtroyed it for ſome miles. Sir Henry Piercy, Sir John Foſter, and other gentlemen, entered the middle-marches; took the caſtle of Linton, deſtroyed the town, and burnt a number of villages. They were oppoſed by a Teviotdale gentleman, Sir Andrew Car; and an encounter enſued, to the diſadvantage of the Scots, who loſt another gentleman of eminence of the ſame name. The Engliſh were ſuffered to return with their booty.

Affairs on the continent.

The queen-regent now perceived that her authority was liable to be controuled in every reſpect; and that it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh it, by haſtening the marriage of her daughter with the dauphin, which would reduce the powers aſſumed by the council. Her ſituation, at this juncture, was ſuch, that ſhe received the greateſt oppoſition from the chiefs of the Roman catholic party; and her principal dependence was on thoſe of the reformed, whoſe followers ſhe treated with great indulgence. Without ſeeming to reſent what had paſſed at Kelſo, ſhe ordered the Scotch army to be diſbanded, all but a few, who choſe to ſerve with the French: they went into winter-quarters at Eymouth, and other places on the borders.

ders. She had received the disagreeable news of the French having been totally defeated at the battle of St. Quintin, by the English and Spaniards; but that the constable of France, the great opposer of her daughter's marriage with the dauphin, was a prisoner. It is here proper to observe, that the favourable turn which the French affairs afterwards took under the duke of Guise, was, in a great measure, owing to the diversion she had made upon the English borders. The English soldiers disliked the Spaniards so much, that after the battle of St. Quintin, they demanded, in a mutinous manner, to return to their own country, to defend it against the Scots; which so many of them did, that the duke of Guise, who was recalled from Italy, retrieved the lustre of the French arms; met with no opposition in the preparations he made for retaking Calais, and entirely driving the English out of France. That he was successful, was owing, in a great measure, to the queen-regent's management in Scotland, which maintained her credit at the French court. I shall not here describe all the preparative steps taken by that king for reconciling the Scotch nation to the match between his son and the queen of Scotland, and which met with no very strong opposition. I shall only observe, that the bigotry of Mary of England, and her husband, Philip of Spain, with the daily appre- A.D. 1557.

hensions

A.D. 1557. henſions of children from that deteſted marriage, were ſtrong motives for the Scotch reformers to wiſh for a French match, rather than that their queen ſhould be beſtowed upon any prince of the houſe of Auſtria.

Seſſion of the Scotch parliament.

The Scotch parliament met, according to its ſummons, on the fourteenth of December; and there the queen-regent laid before the aſſembly a letter from the French king to the ſtates of Scotland, deſiring them to appoint ſome of their own number to repair to Paris, to be witneſſes of the marriage between the dauphin and their queen. The letter is written with decency, though Buchanan ſays it contains a prolix enumeration of the antient leagues between France and Scotland. The moſt obſervable paſſage of it is, the mention of the young queen's being carried over to France, with a view to the marriage. We know of no debate that followed upon the preſentment of this letter. In compliance with it, a commiſſion was given that very day, for the following perſons: James Beaton archbiſhop of Glaſgow, David Panter biſhop of Roſs, principal ſecretary of ſtate, Robert Reid biſhop of Orkney, preſident of the ſeſſion; George Leſley earl of Rothes, a privy counſellor, Gilbert Kennedy earl of Caſſils, lord high-treaſurer; James lord Fleming, high chamberlain, George lord Seaton, James Steuart prior of St. Andrew's, natural brother to the queen,

Dated at St. Germain en Laye, Oct. 30.

queen, and John Erſkine of Dun, to be preſent at the marriage act, as attorneys for the kingdom. A.D. 1557.

A majority of thoſe commiſſioners were of the reformed religion, as ſome of them had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their zeal againſt popery. Panter, who was an accompliſhed ſtateſman, was then on his death-bed, and ſcarcely left behind him his equal in the elegance and purity of the Latin tongue. The other two eccleſiaſtics were worthy men and good patriots. The young queen made them, and the ducheſs of Guiſe, her procurators at the treaty of her marriage; and a procuratory power, dated at Edinburgh * the fourth of February, 1557-8, was ſent by the queen-regent to the ſame ducheſs, her mother. The reſult of this parliament's debates, and their inſtructions given to the commiſſioners, are evidences of their diſintereſtedneſs and independency. They were inſtructed to require from their queen, both before and after her marriage, a ratification of the act paſſed in the parliament, held in the convent near Haddington, July the

Commiſſioners ſent to France for the queen's marriage.

1558.

Their inſtructions.

* Mr. Keith ſays (page 72) it was dated from Riſleburgh or Liſleburgh; but that he does not know what place it is. Had not that induſtrious gentleman confined his reading entirely to the period that fell under his pen, he might have eaſily perceived that Edinburgh, at that time, was always called Liſleburgh by the French, I ſuppoſe, becauſe the ſouth and weſt, behind the caſtle, as well as the north part, was then ſurrounded by water. This opinion ſeems to be well founded by the diſpoſition of the ground.

ſeventh,

A.D. 1558. ſeventh, 1548, touching the ſending her majeſty into France. To obtain from the French king a ratification of his former promiſes, made to the duke of Chatleheraut, for aiding and ſupporting him in his ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland, if the queen ſhould chance to die without children of her own body. They were to require the queen and her huſband to confirm the ſaid declaration, and to diſcharge the duke of Chatleheraut from all his intromiſſions with the public money during his regency. They were to obtain from the queen and the dauphin, a promiſe, in ample form, to obſerve and keep the liberties and privileges of the realm of Scotland, and the laws of the ſame, whole and entire, as in the days of all her royal progenitors, kings of Scotland. Laſtly, that the queen and her huſband ſhould grant a commiſſion for a regent to govern the kingdom of Scotland. From this laſt article, it appears how much biſhop Burnet was miſtaken in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, when he ſaid, no care or precaution was uſed in this treaty, to ſecure the nation by having a governor, with full powers, reſiding among them. The ſame right reverend prelate is little better founded, when he ſays, the Scotch parliament intended that no peer ſhould be created, but with the concurrence of that body; and he mentions the caſe of lord Stuart of Ochiltree, who was made a peer (he ſhould have

Keith.

have ſaid a lord) of parliament by the regent, with the advice and conſent of the ſtates. The caſe was, that Andrew Stuart lord Evandale, having exchanged that lordſhip for the barony of Ochiltree, the regent and the three eſtates created him lord Stuart of Ochiltree. This, it muſt be owned, was a pretty extraordinary ſtep; but cannot infer the concluſion which biſhop Burnet draws from it, becauſe it was no more than altering a deſignation; for I do not find that Sir James Hamilton, who obtained the barony of Ochiltree in exchange, was ever admitted as a lord of parliament. It cannot, however, upon the whole, be denied, that in the Scotch conſtitution, during the times of popery, which I am now about to take leave of, there was a ſtrong propenſity in their parliaments, (as appears from the reſtrictions they laid upon the third and fourth James) to bound the royal prerogative, in creating lords of parliament. The reader, I hope, will not think this an impertinent digreſſion, when he conſiders how little of the true Scotch conſtitution was preſerved after this period. A. D. 1558.

From the Scotch records it appears, that the commiſſioners were to be ranſomed by the public, if they were taken priſoners in their voyage; and if any of them died during their embaſſy, their heirs were to be entitled to certain privileges. They ſailed from Leith in February this year. One of their ſhips, with ſome Perfidious conduct of the French court.

A. D. 1558. valuable effects on board, was wrecked near St. Ebb's-Head, and another near Boulogne; but the commiſſioners arrived ſafe at the court of France. Hiſtory, perhaps, cannot furniſh a ſcene of perfidy and diſſimulation equal to that acted by the French king on this occaſion. The commiſſioners, faithful to their inſtructions, no ſooner arrived at Paris than they fulfilled them all. They obtained all the ratifications and aſſurances required, without the ſmalleſt difficulty; and had they been ten times more advantageous to Scotland than they were, they undoubtedly would have ſucceeded with equal eaſe: but no ſooner were the neceſſary inſtruments made out for the ſecurity and independency of Scotland, than, on the fourth of April, the French king prevailed with the young queen of Scotland to ſign deſeazances to them all, by ſubſcribing three papers. In the firſt, ſhe makes over the kingdom of Scotland, in free gift, to the king of France, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs, in caſe ſhe ſhall happen to die without children. By the ſecond, in which (leſt, I ſuppoſe, that king might be diſappointed in the former) ſhe is made to aſſign to the king of France the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Scotland, after her deceaſe without children, until he ſhall be reimburſed of a million of pieces of gold, or of any greater ſum that he ſhall be found to have expended on her entertainment and education,

cation, during her abode in France. And by a third, (the worſt of all) by which the queen declares, that although, both before her marriage and after it, in compliance with the deſire of her parliament, ſhe ſhall ſign a declaration, touching the lineal ſucceſſion of her crown; yet ſhe proteſts, that the genuine ſenſe of her mind is only contained in the two preceding papers. A.D. 1558.

As the marriage-articles of this royal pair is of ſo great importance to our hiſtory, we ſhall here exhibit them as they were ſigned at Paris, on the nineteenth of April, 1558. Firſt, The dauphin ſhall marry the queen of Scots; and the queen ſhall take to huſband the dauphin, in face of the holy church, on Sunday the twenty-fourth of April. Second, In caſe the dauphin ſhall die king of France, the queen-dowager ſhall enjoy a jointure of ſixty thouſand livres tournois; or a greater ſum, if ſhe chuſes it, and it can be proved, that any queen-dowager of France ever poſſeſſed ſuch. Third, But if the dauphin deceaſe before he has attained to the crown, his widow ſhall be entitled to thirty thouſand livres tournois, from lands in Tourain and Poictou, in as ample a manner as the late queen Eleonora dowager of France. Fourth, And in the mean time, the eſtates of Scotland ſhall have reaſon to be contented with the honourable proviſion which the king of France ſhall make

Marriage articles between the queen and the dauphin.

A. D. 1558. for their queen and the dauphin. Fifth, If the dauphin die before her, the queen of Scotland may either remain in France, or return to Scotland, if ſhe pleaſes, there to enjoy her jointure, and re-marry, as her parliament ſhall counſel her; nor ſhall be hindered to carry with her all the jewels, furniture, &c. which belong to the queens of France; and that, whether ſhe has children or not. Sixth, The eldeſt ſon of the marriage, or his repreſentative, ſhall ſucceed to both the kingdoms of France and Scotland, and take the arms of both kingdoms under the ſame crown. Seventh, But if there are only daughters, the eldeſt, or her iſſue, ſhall ſucceed to the crown of Scotland, and not marry without the joint conſent of the king of France and the Scots eſtates, and ſhall have at marriage, the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns of the ſun, as every one of her ſiſters ſhall have three hundred thouſand of the ſame currency. Eighth, In conſideration of which, the Scots embaſſadors have promiſed to take an oath of fidelity, in name of the eſtates of Scotland, after the marriage is ſolemnized to the dauphin, as huſband of the queen, to honour and obey him during the marriage, and the children of the marriage, in the ſame manner as their predeceſſors did the royal progenitors of the Scots queen. Ninth, The king of France and Scots queen have alſo agreed, that

the

the dauphin ſhall bear the title of king of Scotland, and quarter the arms of that realm with his own. A.D. 1558.

They are defeated by treachery.

Thoſe marriage-articles, which have been publiſhed from the original by the reverend Mr. Keith, were ſigned by the contracting parties, in preſence of almoſt all the royal and noble perſonages in France. The cardinal of Bourbon performed the marriage on the twenty-fourth of April, in preſence of the ſame company. A few days after the ceremony was over, the deputies from Scotland took an oath of allegiance to the king-dauphin, as he was called; and the nuptials were ſo agreeable to the ſenſe of the nation, in general, that the queen-regent's power appeared to be confirmed, beyond all poſſibility of its being ſhaken *. This ſecurity undoubtedly anticipated the execution of the perfidious ſchemes that had been hatched at the French court, where the reader is to remember Catharine de Medicis was queen-conſort. From the contents of the defeazances, which I have exhibited, it is plain, that Mary had been prevailed upon, by a private and perſonal act of her own, to ſet aſide the order of ſucceſſion to her crown, which had been ſolemnly and repeatedly confirmed to the Hamilton family by

*The marriage was commemorated in an epithalamium written by Buchanan, which is deſervedly held to be a capital piece of Latin poetry; and is the beſt production of the kind that came from that author's pen.

parliament,

A. D. 1558. parliament. Thoſe flagitious inſtruments had been kept ſecret, and were afterwards diſcovered only by accident; for the viſcount Preſton †, afterwards embaſſador from Charles the ſecond, to Lewis the fourteenth, obtained authentic tranſcripts of them, by permiſſion of that monarch; and they are at preſent depoſited in the Lawyer's Library at Edinburgh. Even the marriage-articles were broken through almoſt as ſoon as made; for I perceive, from an authentic inſtrument publiſhed by Mr. Anderſon, of a grant to lord Fleming, that the royal couple, a few months (if not days) after their marriage, took upon themſelves the titles of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland. The Engliſh arms are, indeed, omitted in the ſeal appended to this grant; but it is certain, that they were afterwards uſed by Mary. This incautious, and indeed childiſh proceeding, may juſtly be looked upon as the root of all the misfortunes that afterwards befell that princeſs; as, in fact, ſhe thereby pronounced queen Eliza-

† His name was Graham, and he was afterwards ſecretary of ſtate to James the ſecond. His fidelity to that prince coſt him dear; for though he produced a patent, ſigned before the throne was declared to be vacant, creating him an Engliſh peer; yet he was tried and condemned at the Old Bailey, for being concerned in a conſpiracy to reſtore king James. Though the ſentence never was executed, yet, if I miſtake not, he died under his confinement in the Tower, where he wrote ſeveral works, particularly an Engliſh tranſlation of Boetius De Conſolatione Philoſophiæ, which is far from being a mean performance.

beth

beth to be illegitimate, and herſelf, as queen of Scotland, to be true heir to the crown of England. A.D. 1558.

Every thing being now prepared for throwing off the maſk, the deputies were called into the French council, and were required to agree, that the dauphin ſhould have the power as well as the privileges of a king. In this demand they were not only favoured by what had happened ſome time before in England, and other countries in Europe; but from the laws and uſages of Scotland, by which the huſband of an heireſs, if he ſurvives her, and the iſſue of the marriage, retains poſſeſſion of her eſtate, during his own life. This being a regal caſe, the rights claimed, on the part of the dauphin, were not improperly termed the crown matrimonial, meaning, that he ſhould be to all intents and purpoſes king of Scotland, during his life-time, by virtue of his marriage. After the great caution employed by the parliament of Scotland to guard againſt all infractions of their ſucceſſion and conſtitution, this demand could not fail of alarming the deputies. In their oath of fidelity to the dauphin, they promiſe only to obey, ſerve, and honour him, during his marriage with the queen. This reſervation was now ſet aſide; but they pleaded that they had no inſtructions upon that head. The chancellor of France, upon this, required the deputies to promiſe, that they ſhould uſe their intereſt in obtaining the crown matrimonial for

Firmneſs of the Scotch commiſſioners.

Keith.

A. D. 1558. for the dauphin, in the enſuing Scotch parliament. The anſwer they returned to this freſh demand, was, as before, cold and reſerved; but Henry had other dependencies for carrying his point.

Elizabeth ſucceeds to the throne of England.

No ſooner did Mary queen of England expire, than he applied to the pope for a bull to annul Elizabeth's right to the crown of England, in favour of the queen of Scotland. This was ſo far from being ſecret, that his miniſters, in the conferences for a peace which had begun in Mary's time, declared to the Engliſh commiſſioners, that they looked upon the queen of Scotland, as being the true heir to the crown of England. His holineſs having ſome hopes that queen Elizabeth would declare for the Roman catholics in her dominions, and being, in other reſpects, not on a very good footing with Henry, rejected his application; but Henry, fatally for queen Mary, obliged her to aſſume the deſignation and arms of England, and to quarter them with thoſe of France and Scotland, upon all their plate and furniture. The duke of Norfolk, earl marſhal of England, early obtained a copy of one of thoſe impolitic eſcutcheons, and put it into Elizabeth's hands, a few weeks after her ſucceſſion to the throne. She was not then in a condition to reſent the affront; but the duke of Norfolk ſent the eſcutcheon to be examined by the office of heralds at London, and to return

their

their judgment upon it. They accordingly pronounced, "that the ſame was prejudicial to the queen of England, her ſtate and dignity; and that the Scottiſh queen being no more than one of the collaterals of the royal family of England, neither can nor ought to bear any part of the eſcutcheon of the arms of England, nor the dauphin, her huſband, in the right of her or otherwiſe." A.D. 1558. MSS. n. 51. int. Preſ. in off. arm. Strype.

Elizabeth, encouraged by the behaviour of the Scotch commiſſioners at the French court, and the daily expreſſions ſhe received of her people's loyalty, at firſt, cut off all correſpondence between France and England; and having appointed an excellent ſet of counſellors, ſhe ordered Cecil (afterwards the famous lord-treaſurer Burleigh) to lay the ſtate of her affairs before their board. Cecil performed his orders with great boldneſs. He obſerved, that the French influence in Scotland was every day gaining ground; that Berwick, and the other frontier towns, were but poorly provided for a defence, if they were attacked by the French, who were every day ſending over troops into Scotland. He obſerved, that the Scotch queen had aſſumed the title and arms of England, which left no room to doubt of their deſigns, eſpecially as the Guiſes directed all the power of France. The reſult of this conſultation was, that Elizabeth ſhould cultivate the friendſhip of Spain, for balancing the French intereſt; A war threatened.

A.D. 1558. tereſt; that as England had lately ſuffered by a plague and famine, ſhe ſhould endeavour to take into her pay a body of Danes, to be employed againſt the French in Scotland; that remonſtrances, and even threatenings, ſhould be made at the court of France; but, in the mean while, that a ſquadron of ſhips ſhould be ſent to the road of Leith, to prevent, by force, if neceſſary, the French from ſending any more troops to Scotland. The duke of Norfolk, the moſt reſpectable nobleman in England, was likewiſe appointed lord-lieutenant of the northern counties, to reſide there with an army.

The lord Evers was then governor of Berwick, which was well provided with artillery and all the neceſſary means of defence; and in December he beat up the quarters of the French at Eymouth. As Elizabeth was, as yet, not fully prepared to act offenſively, Evers was commanded to deſiſt from hoſtilities, till he ſhould receive farther orders. The precautions taken at Berwick proved a diſappointment to the French; and they formed a plan for ſurprizing Newcaſtle. Their deſign was diſcovered to the Engliſh government, and the duke of Norfolk threw a reinforcement into the town; ſo that this enterprize was likewiſe defeated. Thoſe repeated attacks of the French, in which they were joined by ſome Scotchmen, produced, at laſt, an open ſtate of war upon

upon the borders, where Sir Leonard Dacres, Sir Henry Piercy, and other Engliſh officers generally prevailed; and they would have carried the war into Scotland, had they not been countermanded by Elizabeth. A.D. 1558. Balfour's MSS. Annals.

The Guiſes, notwithſtanding all their political and military virtues, had no true conception of the ſtate of Scotland at this time. The queen-regent, on the other hand, conducted herſelf with the moſt conſummate policy, and balanced parties with inimitable addreſs. By continuing to profeſs herſelf an advocate for tolerancy in religious matters, ſhe kept up her credit with the reformers; but, for the reaſons, already given, ſhe was oppoſed by the eccleſiaſtics, with the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's at their head. That prelate had, of late, acted with moderation in every thing; excepting his violence againſt every meaſure that could affect the intereſt of the Hamilton family. As he had a prodigious influence with the eccleſiaſtical order, the queen-regent had taken care to keep the vacant biſhoprics and abbacies, which gave a ſeat in parliament, vacant, or to beſtow them upon Frenchmen. She gave two of the richeſt abbeys in the kingdom, Kelſo and Melroſs, to her brother, the cardinal of Lorrain; and in the parliament which was ſummoned to deliberate upon the grant of the matrimonial crown, no more than ſeven biſhops and ſixteen abbots were preſent. Artful conduct of the queen regent.

A. D. 1558.

Ambition of the French court.

The moderation of the queen-regent, tho' wiſe and well-timed, did not keep pace with the ambition, violence, and ſanguine expectations of Henry, and the Guiſes. Four of the Scotch commiſſioners had died in France, when they were ready to ſet out for Scotland; and their deaths were generally attributed to poiſon, adminiſtered to them by order of the Guiſes. The biſhop of Orkney, the earls of Rothes and Caſſils, had died at Dieppe, when they were about to embark for Scotland; and the lord Fleming being taken ill, returned to Paris, where he expired on the twenty-eighth of December. Some of their attendants died about the ſame time, though there was then no epidemical diſorder in France. It is, perhaps, unfair to charge their fates upon the Guiſes, when we reflect upon the poiſoning practices aſcribed to the French queen; and poſſibly their deaths might be natural. I am the more inclined to the latter opinion, becauſe of the high encomiums beſtowed upon the lord Fleming in the charter I have already mentioned, granted to his brother by Francis and Mary, and becauſe the commendator of St. Andrew's, the moſt obnoxious to them all, eſcaped. The public formed a different judgment. It was well known, that the commiſſioners intended to oppoſe the parliamentary grant of the matrimonial crown; and that the French court was not, at that time, of a com-

plection

plection to hesitate upon the most infamous measures that stood in the way of its ambition. The other four commissioners arrived at Montrose, in October; and a parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh the twenty-ninth of November. The expectations of the public were raised high upon this occasion; and besides the ecclesiastics I have mentioned, thirteen earls, fifteen lords, two masters, or eldest sons, of lords, and ten representatives of boroughs, in all sixty three, appeared in parliament. It is somewhat surprizing, that no mention is made of the representatives of shires. This can be accounted for no otherwise, than that gentlemen did not chuse to attend, either because such attendance was chargeable and troublesome, or because they disliked the business of the meeting. Perhaps the two masters (as they are called) were knights for two counties. A. D. 1558.

The first business of this parliament was to receive the report of the four surviving commissioners, and to lay before the members an act of naturalization granted by the king of France to all Scotchmen, to enjoy all the privileges and immunities of the natural-born subjects of his kingdom. An act of the same import for naturalizing Frenchmen in Scotland was passed in this parliament. The commissioners next exhibited the queen-dauphin's letters to the three estates, desiring them to grant Proceedings of the Scotch parliament.

to

A.D. 1558. to her ſpouſe the matrimonial crown, and to ſend it over by two or three lords. This propoſal was warmly oppoſed by the duke of Chatleheraut, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and the friends of their party. It is plain, that, at that time, they more than ſuſpected the private and arbitrary meaſures that had been taken to ſet the Hamilton family aſide from the ſucceſſion; but their oppoſition was in vain. The queen-regent's influence, the hopes of eſtabliſhing the Reformation, and the diſlike of the tyranny which the eccleſiaſtics exerciſed in temporal as well as ſpiritual matters, prevailed with the aſſembly to conſent to the ſending the matrimonial crown to the dauphin, to be by him enjoyed, during the marriage only, without prejudice to the young queen, the ſucceſſion of her body, or the lawful ſucceſſion of her blood whatſoever, and the liberties of the realm. From thoſe words, it plainly appears, that the matrimonial crown was not ſettled, according to, what is called, the courteſy of Scotland, and which takes place in private inheritances; for in that caſe, the dauphin muſt have been king of Scotland, during his life-time, after his wife's deceaſe. This proviſion did not ſatisfy the Hamiltons; and the head of that family entered a very ſtrong proteſt for preſerving his rights of inheritance. It is remarkable, that the ſame parliament repealed the acts of forfeiture paſſed againſt

againſt Creighton of Burneſton, and Cock- A. D. 1558.
burn of Ormiſton, (two warm reformers) for aiding and aſſiſting the Engliſh in the ſpring of that very year.

where the queen-regent prevails.

Though the queen-regent had carried the queſtion relating to the matrimonial crown, by the influence ſhe had over the heads of the Reformation, yet all confidence between her and them broke off ſoon after the riſing of the parliament. The reformed in Scotland now knew their own ſtrength, and reſolved to loſe no time in realizing their expectations. Their preachers were every day making converts; and the famous Mr. Knox had, by the deſire of the earls of Glencairn and Marſhal, ſent a letter to the queen-regent, entreating a reformation in the church. In ſhort, the progreſs of the reformation was ſuch, that the biſhops prevailed on the queen-regent to call their preachers before the council, and to try them for high-treaſon. The queen, not ſuſpecting the conſequences, complied with this requeſt; but when the day of appearance came, the preachers were attended with ſuch numbers, that ſhe thought proper to diſcharge the diet, and to declare that ſhe meant no harm to the preachers. Knox was then at Dieppe; but the queen-regent's moderation had prevailed with the heads of the reformed to be contented with the private exerciſe of their religion in their own houſes, till they could ſee what turn affairs would take. Knox was highly offended

A.D. 1558. offended at this lukewarmneſs (as he called it); and at his requeſt, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, lord Lorn, Erſkine of Dun, with other noblemen and gentlemen of intereſt, entered into an aſſociation for maintaining and advancing the Reformation in Scotland, in the name of the majeſty of God and his congregation. This laſt expreſſion gave riſe to the term of lords of congregation, by which that party was afterwards diſtinguiſhed. The earl of Argyle's high rank, being then chancellor of the kingdom, and in great credit with the queen-regent, gave vaſt uneaſineſs to the clergy; but he was proof againſt all remonſtrances on that head, though artfully urged by the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. That prelate, though far from being violent by diſpoſition, had given way to ſome freſh executions, that he might keep up his credit with the clergy. The laſt capital puniſhment they ventured to inflict, was upon one Walter Mills, a decrepid prieſt of eighty-two, who was burnt in April this year; and the ſtake at which he expired, proved to be the funeral pile of the Romiſh religion in Scotland.

Demands of the reformers.

Soon after, the lords of the congregation preſented the queen-regent with their demands for a reformation, which I ſhall lay before the reader, to obviate the charge of violence and rebellion, which ſome writers have brought againſt the preſentment.

Firſt,

First, That it may be lawful to meet publicly or privately to common prayers in the vulgar tongue, to the end they might grow in knowledge, and be induced, in ſeverity of prayer, to commend to God the holy univerſal church, the queen our ſovereign, her honourable and gracious huſband, the ability of her ſucceſſion, her grace the regent, the nobility, and whole ſtate of this realm. A. D. 1558.

Second, That it ſhall be lawful for any qualified perſon in knowledge, to interpret any hard places of ſcripture that ſhall happen to be read in the meetings.

Third and Fourth, That baptiſm, and the Lord's ſupper, be adminiſtred in the vulgar tongue: and this laſt in both kinds, according to our Saviour's inſtitution.

Fifth, That the wicked and ſcandalous lives of churchmen be reformed, according to the rules contained in the New Teſtament, the writings of the ancient fathers, and the laws of Juſtinian the emperor. Which three they are willing ſhall decide the controverſy betwixt them and the preſent clergy.

The reader will pardon this anticipation of eccleſiaſtical matters, becauſe, at this time, they became civil concerns. There is no diſſembling, that if the queen-regent, by the inſtigation of the clergy, had proceeded roughly with the reformers, the latter would have repelled force by force. They were ſufficiently numerous and

The Engliſh fleet invades the Orkneys.

A. D. 1558. powerful for that purpoſe, and they had nothing to apprehend from England, as Elizabeth had amply declared herſelf in favour of the Reformation there. She had, indeed, ordered her fleet, under Sir John Clare, to make a deſcent upon the Orkney iſlands, which he did ſo unſucceſsfully, that after loſing ſome of his men, he was forced to return with his ſhattered ſhips to England. After this, Elizabeth took all opportunities of awakening in the Scotch reformers a jealouſy of the Guiſes, and of privately aſſuring them, that ſhe would at a proper time declare herſelf their friend.

The queen-regent was ſo far from expreſſing any reſentment towards the lords of the congregation for their demands, which were preſented to her by Sir James Sandilands of Calder, that they left her highly ſatisfied with her behaviour, and their reception. A convention of the clergy was then ſitting at Edinburgh; and ſome of the members ſeeing the imminent danger to which their order was expoſed, inclined to ſome compliances in matters of religion, particularly, by allowing prayers, baptiſm, and the holy communion to be performed in the mother-tongue. The reformers were ſo dutiful, that they ſent Mr. Erſkine of Dun to this convention, with the ſame requeſts they had preſented to the queen-regent. The imminent dangers that then hung over popery in Scotland, inſtead of daunting its profeſſors, ſeemed

to

to render them more furious and intractable than ever; and Erſkine was diſmiſſed with inſults and threats. As the performance of all the aſſurances which the reformers had received from the regent, depended entirely upon her own good faith and honour, a new ſupplication was prepared to be preſented to the parliament. Its ſubſtance was "to diſable churchmen from being both judges and parties in their own cauſes, at leaſt, until a general council of the church, lawfully aſſembled, ſhould decide the preſent controverſies in religion; that in ſuch caſes, a churchman might accuſe, but judgment was to be left to the civil magiſtrates, and that the accuſed parties ſhould be proceeded with according to the law; that every man ſhould be at liberty to explain his own meaning in matters of religion, and that none of the congregation be condemned for hereſy, unleſs they be convicted, by the word of God, to have erred from the faith, which the Holy Scripture witneſſeth to be neceſſary to ſalvation."

A. D. 1558.

Farther demands of the reformers.

The queen-regent with great art and addreſs, diverted the parties from preſenting this petition to parliament, on pretext of the unſettled ſtate of affairs, and the great power of the eccleſiaſtics in that aſſembly. They offered, indeed, a proteſt, in which they complained of the wickedneſs and inſufficiency of the popiſh clergy, and exculpating themſelves from all the conſequences of popular inſurrections, by

Artful conduct of the queen-regent.

A.D. 1558. their petition not being received, and of the ſevere laws that had been made againſt them; concluding, that ſince they had nothing in their view, but the purity of their religion, that they ſhould not be looked upon as factious and ſeditious, but as dutiful and loyal ſubjects. This proteſt (a copy of which may be found in Spotſwood) was undoubtedly a defiance to the civil authority, and it was not ſuffered to be entered upon the public records. The queen-regent, however, ſoftened the petitioners, by aſſuring them, that ſhe would remember the ſubſtance of their proteſt, and that they ſhould be no ſufferer by its not being admitted. But this was far from being the caſe; and from the time of their preſenting it, ſhe ſecretly reſolved to be their enemy; influenced, no doubt, by the violent counſels of her brothers, and kinſmen. The truth is, it was not now in her option to be neutral, far leſs to countenance or patronize, as ſhe hitherto had done, the heads of the reformed. She plainly ſaw, that their conceſſions had been made merely on the ſtrength of her promiſes, and in complaiſance to her perſon. The terms in which their proteſt was drawn up, diſcovered, that it would be no longer in her power to manage them; and ſhe had only to chuſe, whether ſhe would be the head of a party, or break with the crown of France. She could not heſitate at this option; but made diſpoſitions

diſpoſitions for breaking off her connections with the reformers, if poſſible, in a decent, moderate manner. A.D. 1558.

For this purpoſe, ſhe invited all the eccleſiaſtics in the kingdom, who had any reputation as to learning, morals, or capacity, to meet in a ſynod or convocation at Edinburgh, to conſult about the Reformation of the church. This ſynod aſſembled on the ſecond of March, 1559. The congregation were permitted to preſent to her majeſty (who had great influence over the meeting) a ſet of articles for her approbation, containing the following heads. Firſt, that public prayers be conceived, and the ſacraments adminiſtered, in the vulgar tongue. Second, That biſhops be elected by conſent of the gentry of the dioceſe, and pariſh prieſts by conſent of the pariſhioners. Third, that all inſufficient incumbents be diſcharged, and replaced by others more able. Fourth, That all immoral ignorant churchmen ſhould be excluded from adminiſtering the ſacraments, and performing eccleſiaſtical functions. Thoſe requeſts admitted of great debate, the reſult of which, was ſuch as might have been expected from an intereſted, ignorant, bigotted aſſembly of churchmen. They declared in their anſwer, that it would be violating the majeſty of God, to admit of any other than the Latin language in public prayers; that they would not depart from 1559. Keith. Obſtinacy of the popiſh clergy.

A. D. 1559. from the canon law, as to the election of biſhops and paſtors; and that they would abide by the decrees of the council of Trent, concerning the other contents of the articles.

Proceedings of the reformers; The queen-regent, at this time, ſeems to have been determined, implicitly, to follow the dictates of her brothers, and the French court. She had, more than once, publicly declared, that being now free from the ſcruples that had formerly diſturbed her, ſhe was reſolved to reſtore the church to its antient authority, which it had, of late times, loſt. The reformed conſidered her words as importing, that ſhe was reſolved to reſtore popery, with all its horrors, and to rekindle the flames of perſecution. The force of enthuſiaſm was not wanting to inſpirit their conduct; for the famous John Knox was now returned to Scotland, and openly preached at Perth. He inveighed, in his ſermons, againſt all prudential conſiderations that might check the progreſs of the Reformation, which, he ſaid, ought to take the lead of all the reſpect that was due to ſecular powers and dignities. The congregation, notwithſtanding his exhortations, proceeded with ſurprizing moderation. Though they were no ſtrangers to the queen-regent's defection from their party, they deputed the earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbel of Loudon, ſheriff of Air, to wait upon her majeſty, and mildly to lay before her the imprudence

dence and bad policy of moleſting their miniſters, unleſs they preached unſound doctrine, or behaved themſelves in a diſorderly manner. Her anſwer ſpoke the ſentiments of her family and party; for flying in a paſſion ſhe told them, "that, maugre their hearts, and all that would take part with them, theſe miniſters ſhould be baniſhed Scotland, though they preached as ſoundly as ever St. Paul did." The two deputies begged leave to remind her of her promiſes. Her anſwer was, "that the performance of the promiſes of princes was no farther to be urged, than was conſiſtent with their own conveniency." The deputies conſidered this deſpotic, perfidious reply, as a declaration of her real intentions, and rejoined with great firmneſs, "If this be the concluſion which you have taken, that you will keep no promiſes to the ſubjects, we cannot any longer acknowlege your authority, and will henceforth renounce all obedience to you; what inconveniencies may ariſe of this, you may bethink yourſelf." So reſolute a ſpeech daunted the queen-regent; and reſuming a milder manner, ſhe told them, "ſhe would conſider of what they had repreſented, and remedy the evils they had complained of, in the tendereſt and moſt effectual manner."

A.D. 1559. Spotſwood. Ibid.

Scarcely had the deputies parted from the queen-regent, when ſhe was informed, that one of the reformed miniſters (Knox, I ſuppoſe) was

who are perſecuted, but eſcape.

A. D. 1559. was publicly preaching at Perth. She ſent for the lord Ruthven, who was provoſt of that town, and commanded him to ſuppreſs thoſe tumults and innovations in religion. Ruthven, who was himſelf a congregationiſt, anſwered, that "he ſhould ſubject the bodies and goods of the offenders to her majeſty, but that he had no power over their minds and conſciences." The queen-regent was the more nettled at this behaviour, as ſhe had been at uncommon pains to enforce the celebration of the maſs, and all the popiſh ceremonies, during the Eaſter holidays, in the towns of Perth, Montroſe, Dundee, and other places, beſt affected to the Reformation. Her orders, far from being obeyed, were diſregarded; and in a few days ſhe received accounts, with the greateſt mortification and diſquiet of ſpirit, that the exerciſe of the royal prerogative had rendered the people more tumultuous, and the more backward to obey it. She ordered Haliburton, who was provoſt of Dundee, to apprehend one Paul Methven, who had exchanged the profeſſion of a baker, for that of a reformed preacher, and to ſend him priſoner to her. Methven, ſecretly premoniſhed by Haliburton, eſcaped. But I am now to prepare the reader for the great events which followed, by introducing him to a ſhort ſtate of affairs in England, and upon the continent.

Elizabeth

A. D. 1559.

Elizabeth had now ſurmounted great difficulties in reſtoring the proteſtant ſervice in England; and had moſt artfully made uſe of her capital enemy, the king of Spain, for counterbalancing the party of the Scotch queen, both in her own dominions, and upon the continent. She had placed Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a faithful, penetrating, miniſter, as her embaſſador, but, in reality, employed as a ſpy, at the French court. He arrived there about the time that the king-dauphin and his queen had ratified a late treaty between France and Spain; and when the intelligence received from Scotland had filled all France with warlike preparations, which, as Throgmorton informed Cecil, were deſigned againſt the Scotch reformers. The queen of Scotland was, at this time, in ſo bad a ſtate of health, that it was thought thoſe armaments were carrying on for executing, in caſe of her death, the ſecret engagements ſhe had entered into with her father-in-law, before her marriage. This intelligence ſerved only to encreaſe the ſecret connexions that had been already formed between Elizabeth and the lords of the congregation. Cecil had an intercourſe, by letters, with Knox, while he was abroad; but that reformer having written a book againſt the government of England, entitled, The firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet, Elizabeth appeared to be ſo much offended, that he durſt not venture to

Queen Elizabeth joins with the congregation.

Letter from the embaſſadors, dated at Paris, May 24, in the Paper-Office.

A. D. 1559. travel through England to Scotland in his return. She was ſoon convinced, that all his indiſcreet zeal had been levelled at her ſiſter Mary queen of England, the queen-regent of Scotland, and her daughter. She therefore gave orders for Cecil to keep up his correſpondence with Knox, and to fix him in her intereſt.

Their heads. Among all the heads of the Reformation now in Scotland, none diſtinguiſhed themſelves more than the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, commonly called the lord James. They ſeem to have accepted the office of carrying the matrimonial crown to the king-dauphin, only that they might baulk the performance; and, in fact, they were ſo ingenious in finding pretexts for their delays, that it never was ſent. The court of France, for that reaſon, had devoted thoſe two noblemen to deſtruction; and it was reſolved to take them off either by violence or treachery; but the execution of this inhuman purpoſe was ſuſpended by the humanity of the queen-regent. Elizabeth, in order to check the prevalence of the French party in Scotland, took advantage of an armiſtice, which had been ſigned on the eighteenth of March, to open a correſpondence with the duke of Chatleheraut, by means of Sir Henry Piercy, brother to the duke of Northumberland. This correſpondence is ſcarcely mentioned by any of the Scotch hiſtorians;

rians; and might have remained ſtill a ſecret, had it not been diſcovered by the original letters, which remain in the Paper-Office, the Britiſh Muſeum, and other repoſitories in England. Piercy did not fail to lay before the duke, the dangerous ſtate of his own, and his family's, acceſſion to the crown of Scotland, through the great encreaſe of the French power there, and the numerous fortifications they were erecting to bridle the kingdom. He then proceeded to hint at a league between the crown of England, and the reformed party in Scotland. The duke was far from being ſo ſanguine on thoſe heads as Elizabeth either hoped or expected. He ſeemed to be under no apprehenſions about his ſucceſſion, during queen Mary's life-time; nor about the French forts, which he ſaid, without the aſſiſtance of the Scots, could not be ſupplied with garriſons. With regard to the league, he declared with great warmth, that he and all his friends would take part with Elizabeth, if the French ſhould ever become ſo powerful in Scotland, as to prevail with his countrymen to become aggreſſors in any quarrel that the French might have with England. A. D. 1559.

Elizabeth then applied to the duke's ſon, the earl of Arran, who was then in France, through the agency of Throgmorton. This young nobleman was, by principle, a proteſtant, and was captain of the Scotch guards The lord Hamilton eſcapes out of France.

A. D. 1559. guards in France, a poſt of great honour and conſequence; but his prudence could not be depended upon. He had been flattered with the thoughts of marrying Elizabeth; and Throgmorton ſucceeded perfectly well in bringing him over to his views. Noailles, the French embaſſador at the court of England, diſcovered this ſecret correſpondence, and gave intelligence of it to his maſter, who ordered the earl to attend him. Arran, though twice ſummoned, ſecreted himſelf, and was concealed by Throgmorton, through whoſe management he, at laſt, made his eſcape to Geneva, and from thence into England, where he had ſome ſecret interviews with Elizabeth, who, he had no doubt, intended to make him her huſband, as appears by his letters to that princeſs, which are ſtill extant. The earl of Arran's concealment in England, did not eſcape the penetration of Noailles. He charged Elizabeth's miniſtry with having aſſiſted in ſecreting him; and he informed the queen-regent of a private treaty which had been entered into between the earl and Elizabeth, by which the earl was to be made king of Scotland by Elizabeth, from whom he was to hold his crown, paying her an annual tribute; and, at the ſame time, he was to deliver into her hands Dumbarton, Dumfries, Dunbar, and Inch-Keith, then called L'iſleaux Chevaux, or the iſland of horſes. Noailles, in the ſame diſpatch, acquaints the queen-

queen-regent, that Elizabeth had declined all the propoſitions of marriage made by the earl. There can be little doubt, that if ſuch a treaty was propoſed, and agreed to, it was only with a view of amuſing the earl of Arran, who was a nobleman ſuſceptible of the moſt groſs impoſitions. A.D. 1559.

It was the misfortune of Scotland at this time, that no medium could be found to conciliate the different parties in the government. The Guiſes, and the French court, had formed their ambitious, bloody plan, for maintaining popery, and eſtabliſhing their right of ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland, in caſe of Mary's death. Knox, on the other hand, was violent and intractable, and had obtained an influence over the vulgar, which the moderate nobility, who favoured the Reformation, could not controul. A third party exiſted, more powerful perhaps than both: It conſiſted of thoſe who ſaw and deſpiſed popery ſo much, though they had been bred in that perſuaſion, that they had contracted a contempt for all religion, and were deſirous of any reformation that could put them in poſſeſſion of the ſpoils, both of church and ſtate. It was eaſy for the laſt mentioned party to make tools of Knox and his enthuſiaſts, by pretending to adopt their zeal for Reformation. Parties among the reformed.

The old conſtable, Montmorenci, was the only ſubject of France, who had credit and popularity Diviſions in France.

A. D. 1559. popularity ſufficient to balance the credit of the Guiſes. He was ſupported by the ducheſs of Valentinois, the almoſt ſuperannuated miſtreſs of Henry the ſecond, but in abſolute poſſeſſion of his affections, and jealous of the influence of the Guiſes. Her aſcendency over Henry ſoon convinced him, that he had rendered them too powerful for ſubjects; and Montmorenci's weight at the council-board, diſpoſed Henry to keep well with the queen of England, and to give her full ſatisfaction in all her reaſonable complaints. It was even reſolved to ſtrike the title of king of England out of the king-dauphin's deſignations; but as the meaſures of the reformed gave a great handle of complaint againſt their loyalty, as ſubjects, the conſtable himſelf agreed, that they ought to be reduced by force. For that purpoſe it had been reſolved to recall the queen-regent, and to ſend over the marquis D'Elbeuf, a violent hot-headed nobleman, with a large army to Scotland; and levies for that purpoſe were actually begun. The conſtable, however, had credit enough with his maſter, to ſuſpend thoſe preparations, till Melvil, (the author of the memoirs under his name) who was then at the French court, ſhould be diſpatched to Scotland, and, after having a private interview with Elizabeth, inform himſelf as to the ſtate of the country; and whether the prior of St. Andrew's had made any declaration of his

his pretenſions to the crown. Before thoſe reſolutions could be executed, the French king was accidentally killed in a tournament on the laſt day of June. I am now obliged to return to the affairs of Scotland. A. D. 1559.

There can ſcarcely be a queſtion, that the queen-regent knew of the reſolution to recall her from the government of Scotland. I do not find that this meaſure was very violently oppoſed, even by her brothers, the Guiſes, who thought ſhe had been too complying towards the reformers. Family affection, however, conquered all the ſcruples that had been dictated by prudence; and ſhe fell in, at once, with the views of her relations. Finding that the civil magiſtrates had evaded the execution of her commands, and that the congregation, had, in fact, diſclaimed her authority, ſhe cited all the proteſtant miniſters, throughout the kingdom, to appear at Stirling on the tenth of May. It is immaterial whether this citation was publiſhed before or after the conferences, I have already mentioned, between her and the heads of the congregation; for it certainly brought matters to a criſis. The congregation, without entering into any ridiculous paper war with the queen-regent, reſolved to obey the ſummons; but prepared themſelves and their followers to attend their miniſters on the day appointed. They accordingly advanced from Angus, Merns, and the inte- Severity of the queen-regent.

A. D. 1559. interior parts of the country, in a body of ſome thouſands, to Perth, from whence they diſpatched Erſkine, of Dun, to the queen-regent at Stirling, to inform her that they were come thither in a body, to make confeſſion of their faith, with their preachers, and to aſſiſt them in their juſt defence. This declaration, in contempt of civil authority, could not be vindicated in a cauſe leſs important, than the civil and religious liberties of a people; and her majeſty was obliged to diſſemble. She knew that Erſkine, though a determined friend to the Reformation, was a man of prudence and principle, and well affectioned towards her daughter's family; ſhe was likewiſe no ſtranger to the numbers or reſolution of the inſurgents, and that ſhe was then in no condition to oppoſe them. She therefore mildly deſired Erſkine to uſe his endeavours to perſuade them to depart homewards, promiſing, that all proceedings againſt the miniſters ſhould be ſtopped. Erſkine, upon his return to Perth, executed this commiſſion with ſo much ſucceſs, that the common people departed to their ſeveral homes, and none but the gentlemen, and their miniſters, remained at Perth, while Erſkine returned to court.

Her indefenſible conduct.

The ſubſequent conduct of the queen-regent was indefenſible; for, notwithſtanding her promiſe, when the twentieth of May elapſed, and the miniſters did not appear, they were declared

clared rebels, and guilty of high treaſon. Erſkine, upon this, left the court, and repaired to Perth, where he apologized, in the beſt manner he could, for his paſt conduct; but fairly told them, that they were to expect neither favour nor ſincerity from the queen-regent; and that they ought to prepare againſt the worſt. Nothing could be more agreeable, than this declaration was to the ſentiments of Knox, who was then at Perth. The very day after the denunciation, he preached a ſermon againſt idolatry, in ſo warm and popular a ſtrain, that the people became intractable. A prieſt, at this dangerous criſis, prepared to celebrate maſs; a boy oppoſed him, and a ſcuffle enſued, which terminated in the raſcal multitude (as they are named by Calderwood, who was himſelf a learned, but zealous, preſbyterian) deſtroying all the apparatus for the maſs, and every veſtige of idolatry (for ſo popery was called) in the church. From thence they proceeded to the houſes of the Grey and Black friars, and levelled thoſe venerable, but ſumptuous, edifices with the ground, to the irreparable loſs of the public, and the indelible reproach of the Reformation. Thoſe barbarities were the mere effects of enthuſiaſm; and I am therefore the more inclined to believe, with Calderwood and Knox, that none of the creditable reformers converted any part of the ſpoils to their own profit; and that all the ſacrileges of that kind were committed by the

A. D. 1559.

Calderwood.

Demolition of religious houſes.

A. D. 1559. needy unprincipled rabble. Archbiſhop Spotſwood, whoſe teſtimony ought to go far on this occaſion, ſays, that the houſes of the Grey and Black friars (the Franciſcans and Dominicans) were ſo well ſtored with proviſion and furniture, that it plainly proved their vows of poverty to have been feigned and counterfeit. The ſame moderate prelate ſays, that the wealth of the Carthuſian houſe ſurpaſſed both; and yet the prior was permitted to take with him what he might carry of gold and ſilver plate, and that the remaining ſpoil was given to the poor. This diſintereſtedneſs, amidſt ſuch tumultuous proceedings, is rarely to be met with in hiſtory; and as it is uncontradicted by their enemies, it redounds greatly to the honour of the Scotch reformers.

The example of the Perthians, was followed by the inhabitants of Cupar in Fife, who, in like manner, deſtroyed every appearance of popery. It is to be lamented, that their rage was not confined to ſuperſtitious trinkets and exhibitions; for archbiſhop Spotſwood ſays, that the ſpeed they made in demoliſhing the edifices was admirable; and that in two days time, the ſumptuous large charter-houſe at Perth was not only ruined, but the ſtones and timber ſo quickly taken away, that a veſtige thereof was ſcarce remaining to be ſeen.

When

When we make an allowance for this firſt effuſion of violence, which (every circumſtance conſidered) was natural, the progreſs of the Scotch reformers was far from being ſo indefenſible as it has been repreſented by Keith, and ſome other writers. The young earl of Argyle, (the chancellor earl being then dead) and the prior of St. Andrew's, diſapproved of the ravages that had been committed, and joined the queen-regent, in hopes of being ſtill able to prevent matters from coming to that extremity, which the reſentment of the queen-regent gave them cauſe to apprehend. She ſummoned all the nobility, the duke of Chatleheraut particularly, to attend her at Stirling, to which place D'Oyſſel marched at the head of the French troops. From Stirling ſhe went with them, and the Scotch ſhe had raiſed, towards Perth, in hopes of ſurprizing the inſurgents: but in this they were deceived; for they proceeded in a manner that proved them to be directed by able heads. A. D. 1559. Oppoſed by the queen-regent.

Knox ſtill kept up his private correſpondence with Cecil in England, and was no ſtranger to the moderate diſpoſition of the French court, and the growing averſion of that king (Henry the ſecond being then alive) towards the Guiſes. The congregationiſts drew up four addreſſes, one to the queen-regent, another to the French ſoldiers, another to the Scotch no-

A. D. 1559. bility residing with the queen, and the fourth to the clergy. In the first, they professed all kind of loyalty and obedience to their sovereign; but still with a reservation of conscience in religious matters, and even threatened to lay their case before the French king, if the queen-regent should employ force against them. Their address to D'Oyssel and the French soldiers was manly and spirited, worthy of an independent people: they advised them "not to use violence against them, nor to provoke them to enmity; for that if they should enter into war, the same should remain longer than their own lives, even as long as Scottish men should have power to take revenge." They particularly represented to D'Oyssel, "That he declared himself no faithful servant to his master, the king of France, if for the pleasure of the priests, he would persecute them; and so compel them to take the sword of just defence." In their address to the Scotch nobility, they pleaded religion and conscience for all the enormities that had been committed at Perth; and addressing themselves to such of them as had embraced the Reformation, they told them, "That as they are reputed already traitors by God, they shall likewise be excommunicated from their society, and from the participation of the sacraments of the church, which God, by his mighty power, hath erected among them;

Inconsistency of the reformers.

Keith.

Ibid.

Ibid.

them; whoſe miniſters have the ſame power which Chriſt Jeſus granted to his apoſtles in theſe words: Whoſe ſins ye ſhall forgive, ſhall be forgiven; and whoſe ſins ye ſhall retain, ſhall be retained." It muſt be acknowledged, that this was a doctrine that came with a very bad grace from the reformers. The addreſs to the clergy ſeems to have been drawn up entirely by Knox, as it breathes nothing but fury and vengeance; and would be unworthy of a place in hiſtory, had it not been for the provocations that occaſioned it, and the repeated murders committed by thoſe eccleſiaſtics. A.D. 1559.

The queen-regent, notwithſtanding all their remonſtrances, advanced with her army to Ochterarder, within ten miles of Perth, where it encamped; and the earl of Argyle, the lord James, prior of St. Andrew's, with the lord Sempil, were diſpatched to Perth, to enquire of the inſurgents the reaſon of their aſſembling, and to know whether they intended to deny the queen-regent admittance into the town. They found, on the twenty-fourth of May, a body of the moſt zealous reformers, conſiſting of the gentlemen of Fife, Angus, and Merns, lying in an advanced poſt, without the town. The lay heads of the congregation, in their conferences with the lords deputies, complained of the queen-regent's harſh reſolutions againſt their party, the execution of which, they ſaid, they were determined to oppoſe; The queen-regent treats with them.

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A.D. 1559. oppoſe; but they declared, at the ſame time, that if ſhe ſuffered the already begun Reformation to proceed, they intended to ſubmit themſelves, in every reſpect, to her commands. In the mean while, they entreated the lords deputies to lay their cauſe at the feet of her majeſty, and to intercede in their behalf. Thoſe were, at beſt, but equivocal profeſſions, and intended to gain time. The anſwer returned by Knox next day, when he harangued the lords deputies, was plain, ſimple, and could admit of only one interpretation. He told them, that the queen-regent's rage was blind; that her religion was contrary to that of Jeſus Chriſt; that ſhe was fighting not againſt man, but againſt God; and that her enterprize could not proſper in the end.

Knox.

Keith.

During thoſe conferences, the congregationiſts were aſſembling their friends from all quarters; and the earl of Glencairn, with incredible diſpatch and difficulty, was on his march, from the ſhire of Air, with twelve hundred horſe, and thirteen hundred foot, though the chief paſſes and forts of the country were in poſſeſſion of the queen-regent's forces. The congregationiſts were at this time diſcouraged on ſeeing ſo many leaders of their party, all of them profeſt reformers, joining the queen-regent, who was at the head of ſeven thouſand regular troops, Scotch and French; and one unſucceſsful blow, more than probably,

probably, muſt have been the ruin of their cauſe. The queen-regent was deceived by the earl of Glencairn's prodigious march, which, conſidering his impediments, ſhe thought was impoſſible to be performed in ſo ſhort a time, and ſhe had imagined the congregationiſts would ſubmit to her terms before his arrival. Perhaps ſhe was encouraged in this belief by her deputies. Before the earl had joined his friends, ſhe required them to ſend ſome perſons to her camp, to confer with the duke of Chatleheraut and D'Oyſſel, and treat of an accommodation. A.D. 1559.

Her requeſt was complied with; and the deputies for the congregationiſts were Erſkine of Dun, Ogilvy of Invercarity, and Scott of Abbotſhall. All thoſe were moderate men, and ſeemed compliable with the duke and D'Oyſſel's demands, which were, that the town of Perth ſhould be left open for the queen-regent, who was, in other reſpects, to act according to her own diſcretion. The deputies hinted at ſome farther proviſions, and were diſmiſſed with great politeneſs, to receive farther inſtructions. Scarcely had they left the queen-regent's camp, than ſhe received certain intelligence, that the earl of Glencairn, having eluded all her outguards, was arrived at Perth with his army. His arrival may be ſaid to have been critical for the cauſe of the Reformation in Scotland; for the town of Perth,

till

A. D. 1559. till then, was in the moſt imminent danger of falling into the hands of their enemies; and that, together with the paſs of Stirling, which ſhe was already poſſeſſed of, would have given the queen-regent the moſt important advantages. She again ſent the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, with the abbot of Kilwinning, to Perth; but though the earl of Glencairn, attended by the lords Ochiltree and Boyd, the barons of Loudon, Cragie-Wallace, Ceſnock, with other chief gentlemen of the Weſt, had already arived at Perth, and though the congregationiſts were now a full match for the queen-regent, yet their conduct was moderate to admiration, and their demands bounded by the ſtricteſt rules of patriotiſm and juſtice. When Knox upbraided the queen's commiſſioners (the earl of Argyle and the prior) with their defection, they declared, that all they laboured for, was a reaſonable accommodation, and to prevent bloodſhed; and that if ſhe ſhould violate any of the terms agreed on, they would be the firſt to take the field againſt her. Thoſe aſſurances had ſuch weight, that even Knox was brought over to agree to a treaty, which terminated in the following conditions: Firſt, That both the armies ſhould be diſbanded; and the town left open to the queen. Second, That none of the inhabitants ſhould be moleſted on account of the late alteration in religion. Third, That no Frenchmen ſhould enter the town, nor

An accommodation.

come

come within three miles of it: And that when the queen retires, no French garriſon ſhall be left in the town. Fourth, That all other controverſies be referred to the next parliament. A.D. 1559.

Tho' thoſe terms were agreed on; and tho' Knox returned public thanks to God, that the effuſion of blood had been ſtopped, yet he prophetically foretold, that no part of the treaty would be kept longer than the queen-regent and her Frenchmen were in a condition to break it. The other heads of the congregation were of the ſame opinion; and before they evacuated Perth, they drew up a freſh aſſociation, which they called the ſecond covenant, binding themſelves, in the ſtrongeſt terms, "not to ſpare labours, goods, ſubſtance, bodies, and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole congregation, and every member thereof, againſt whatſoever power that ſhall intend the ſaid trouble, for cauſe of religion, or any other cauſe depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cauſe." This inſtrument was ſigned by the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the prior of St. Andrew's, and the lords Boyd and Ochiltree. On the thirtieth of May, the congregationiſts evacuated Perth, into which the queen-regent made a kind of triumphal entry. An incident which happened, gave a melancholy preſage of her future intentions; for a young boy, ſon to one Mur- Faithleſs conduct of the queen-regent.

A. D. 1559. ray, a zealous reformer, being ſhot dead before his father's houſe, the queen-regent diſcovered no farther concern, than being ſorry that the ball had not pierced the father inſtead of the ſon. The ſubſequent part of her conduct was anſwerable to this commencement. She broke every article of the capitulation, in three days time. Some of the moſt zealous citizens were baniſhed, others were fined; the old magiſtrates were turned out, and the queen-regent nominated others to ſucceed them. Upon her leaving the town, ſhe placed in it a garriſon of ſix hundred Scots, in French pay, thinking thereby to elude that article of the capitulation, regarding the place not being held by Frenchmen. She, at laſt, is ſaid to have thrown off the maſk, and to declare, in the true Guiſian ſtile, that no promiſes were to be kept with heretics. Some writers have affected to doubt the truth of this declaration; but I have mentioned it here, becauſe it was confirmed by her actions. The beſt apology that can be made for her conduct is, that her great capacity and humanity were over-ruled, if not extinguiſhed, by the arts of churchmen, and the affection ſhe bore to her own country and family.

Keith.

Progreſs of the Reformation.

The head-quarters of the congregationiſts, upon their evacuating Perth, was at St. Andrew's, which, though lately the ſeat of metropolitical and eccleſiaſtical tyranny, was now the

the center of the reformed intereſt; ſo effectually had the ignorance and cruelty of the clergy alienated the gentlemen and inhabitants of the neighbouring counties from popery. The earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, ſenſible of the queen-regent's perfidy, retired from Perth to that city; and, at their requeſt, the new aſſociation was carried into execution. The queen-regent charged them, upon their allegiance, to return to Perth; but inſtead of obeying her, ſummonſes were ſent for all the reformed party to meet on the fourth of June at St. Andrew's, which they accordingly did; and they were joined by Knox. A few of his ſermons ſoon inſtigated the rabble to pull down all the altars and images in the neighbourhood; and the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's hearing that Knox, on the following Sunday, intended to take poſſeſſion of his cathedral, garriſoned it with a hundred men, commanded by himſelf. The queen-regent and the French were then at Falkland, at the diſtance of no more than twelve miles from St. Andrew's. The boldeſt of the lay-reformers thought it would be imprudent to diſpoſſeſs the prelate of his pulpit. Knox, who was much better informed, perſiſted in his reſolution to preach next Sunday in the metropolitan church, for which he gave ſeveral enthuſiaſtical reaſons, the better to conceal his real intentions, which he did not think proper A. D. 1559.

A. D. 1559. to publiſh. The archbiſhop found the minds of the inhabitants ſo alienated from popery, and ſo bent upon a reformation, that he thought proper next day to return to Falkland; and the ſermon which Knox preached in the cathedral againſt popery, fired his hearers ſo much, that they not only plundered all the churches in the city, but demoliſhed the houſes of the Franciſcan and Dominican friars.

The queen-regent made a new effort to ſupport her daughter's, and her own, authority. She ordered a rendezvous of the French, and all the ſenſible Scotchmen in the neighbourhood, to be held at Cupar; but the heads of the congregation, taking poſſeſſion of that place with a hundred horſe, were next day three thouſand ſtrong; ſo that (to make uſe of Knox's homely, but emphatical, expreſſions) "it appeared as men had rained from the clouds." The queen-regent was then marching from Falkland, and had appointed the duke of Chatleheraut to be commander in chief of her army. It was outnumbered by the congregationiſts, who advanced to fight; and ſhe had recourſe, as uſual, to a negotiation. The duke and the earl of Mariſhal conferred with the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrew's, and the duke demanded to know the terms on which the congregationiſts were willing to treat. They inſiſted, as a preliminary,

nary, upon the diſmiſſion of the French troops out of Scotland, which her majeſty ſaid ſhe could not agree to, without hearing from the French king; ſo that the conferences ended in a truce for eight days, and the bulk of the French returned to Falkland, till a more definitive treaty could be concluded at St. Andrew's. The duke of Chatleheraut, the earl of Mariſhal, and the wiſeſt of the queen-regent's friends, adviſed her to make uſe of this reſpite, by ſummoning a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, for removing all the national grievances. She was conſcious of the rectitude of this meaſure; but her attachment to her family (who were, at that time, in great jeopardy at the court of France, chiefly on account of the affairs of Scotland) over-ruled her better judgment. Inſtead of ſending commiſſioners to St. Andrew's, or convening a parliament, ſhe did not even deign to anſwer the remonſtrances ſent by the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, upon the oppreſſions committed by the garriſon, which, contrary to the capitulation, ſhe had left at Perth, and the magiſtrates who had been ſubſtituted there, by her authority. A.D. 1559.

This diſregard of their juſt repreſentations, exaſperated the congregationiſts; and they raiſed an army, which, notwithſtanding all the arts of the queen-regent, reduced Perth The reformers raiſe an army.

on

A. D. 1559. on the twenty-fifth of June, and levelled to the ground the palace and abbey of Scone, one of the nobleſt edifices in Europe. Thoſe outrages gave a handle for the queen-regent to pretend, that the reaſon why ſhe diſregarded the laſt capitulation was, becauſe ſhe knew the congregationiſts were preparing to beſiege Perth. She had now ſo effectually forfeited the eſteem of the public, that no regard was had to her declarations, and Knox had full ſcope for the exerciſe of his reforming ſpirit; for the fine abbey of Cambuſkeneth, with all the churches and monaſteries in Stirling, and its neighbourhood, were demoliſhed, the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, having, with prodigious activity, gained poſſeſſion of the paſs over the Forth at Stirling, which laid all the ſouthern counties of Scotland open to their viſits. They did not fail to improve this advantage. Three hundred men, under the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, paſſed the Forth, and, their numbers encreaſing, committed the ſame devaſtations at Linlithgow, as they had in Stirlingſhire. Their party ſoon amounted to five thouſand, and they advanced to Edinburgh, where the queen-regent reſided. She was inclined to have defended that capital; but was diſſuaded by the lord Seton, provoſt of the town, who informed her, that the inhabitants,

inhabitants, in general, were on the ſide of the congregationiſts: upon which ſhe removed to Dunbar. A.D. 1559.

It is with pain we recollect, that the progreſs of the reformers was attended by the demolition of the magnificent churches and religious houſes wherever they paſſed. They pulled down the houſes of the prebends of the collegiate church, which had been founded at Edinburgh by Mary of Gueldres. They plundered the palace and abbey of Holyrood-houſe; and, laſtly, they ſeized the irons of the mint, and coined ſome money for ſupplying their preſent exigencies, which were exceſſively craving. The queen-regent emitted a proclamation, in the name of her daughter, and the king-dauphin, by which ſhe endeavoured to tranſfer the blame of all thoſe diſorders to the congregationiſts. She pretended, that ſhe had offered to call a parliament for ſettling all religious diſputes, and to grant liberty of conſcience to all the inſurgents; and that they had been guilty of treaſon by their unlawful proceedings, eſpecially in ſeizing the irons of the mint; and commanding them, under the higheſt penalties, to evacuate the town of Edinburgh. The lords of the congregation publiſhed an anſwer in general, but very unſatisfactory terms, to this proclamation. It is not to be diſſembled, that many of them were ſenſible they A new treaty.

A. D. 1559. they had gone too far, and thought it high time, if poſſible, to conciliate the reformation of religion with their duty to government. They had, in their anſwer to the queen-regent's proclamations, declared, they were ready to confer in her preſence, and to convince her, that they had no farther views than the reformation of religion. She took hold of this declaration, and deſired the congregationiſts to explain themſelves. They deputed the lairds of Pitarrow and Cunninghamhead to preſent their requeſts, which were, Firſt, That they might enjoy a liberty of conſcience. Second, That inſufficient miniſters be removed from eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations. Third, That Chriſt be truly preached, and his ſacraments rightly adminiſtred. Fourth, That their miniſters be diſcharged from the proceſs of treaſon, and be admitted to execute their office without moleſtation, until ſuch time as, by a general council lawfully convened, or by a parliament within the realm, the controverſies about religion be decided. Fifth, That the French ſoldiers be ſent home. The queen-regent treated thoſe propoſals with great plauſibility, but deſired to confer with other heads of the party; and the earl of Glencairn, the lords Ruthven and Ochiltree, with Pitarrow, were deputed for that purpoſe; and on the twelfth of July, they made their apperance before the queen-regent.

But

But it is here neceſſary to attend to what was paſſing at the French court, which was the main ſpring of the queen-regent's conduct. A.D. 1559.

I am not authorized to ſay, that when ſhe had the interview with the laſt-mentioned commiſſioners, ſhe had received intelligence of Henry the ſecond's death, which happened on the laſt day of June; and that her ſon-in-law was then poſſeſſed of the French crown. I am, by her conduct, inclined to believe, that ſhe knew of that event; but that the French court was deceived, as to the affairs of Scotland. The French king's death had revived the Guiſian intereſt; and the preparations for the duke D'Elbeuf's paſſing over to Scotland, were renewed with freſh vigour, though Melvil had not yet returned from Scotland to make his report. One of Throgmorton's diſpatches mentions, that before the French king expired of his wound, the Guiſes held a conſultation, where it was once more reſolved to cut off the earl of Argyle, the prior of St. Andrew's, and other principal reformers; and orders were diſpatched to Scotland for that purpoſe. The queen-regent, averſe to ſanguinary meaſures, obſerved a different conduct. She knew that the reforming party, whoſe army generally conſiſted of five thouſand, could not long keep the field in a body; and, in the mean while, ſhe took care to ſpread diſſenſions among their chiefs, by pretending, that the

A.D. 1559. prior of St. Andrew's aſpired to the crown. This had ſuch an effect, that the congregationiſts were diſunited, and many of them joined in a paper, diſclaiming ſuch rebellious intentions.

Correſpondence between the reformers and the Engliſh miniſtry.

Secretary Cecil informed Argyle and the prior of their danger; and they refuſed to truſt their perſons with the queen-regent, who remained at Dunbar, and ſeemed deſirous to treat with them particularly. The congregationiſts were ſtill at Edinburgh; tho' diminiſhed in their numbers, and divided in their councils, but they made no ſecret of the intelligence they had received from Cecil, concerning the earl of Argyle and the prior. As the queen-regent appeared ſincerely diſpoſed for an accommodation, it was agreed, that a conference ſhould be held at Preſton, in Eaſt Lothian. The commiſſioners for the congregationiſts were the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree, the prior of St. Andrew's, with the lairds of Dun, and Pitarrow. Thoſe for the queen-regent were the duke of Chatleheraut, the earl of Huntley, the lords Erſkine and Somervile, the commendator of Kilwinning, and the juſtice-clerk. Each party was attended by a guard of a hundred men, and both ſeemed well diſpoſed for an agreement. The queen-regent made no objection towards tolerating the congregationiſts in the free exerciſe

of

of their religion, provided they abſtained from it in the places where ſhe and her court reſided, and gave way to the maſs. She was the more peremptory on this head, as ſhe had certain intelligence, that many of the congregation had left Edinburgh; and that thoſe who remained were inconſiderable, either for numbers or diſcipline. They rejected, however, the terms ſhe propoſed, reſolving to remain in Edinburgh all winter, and to keep poſſeſſion of the mint. The queen-regent complained of their conduct, as being treaſonable, and they juſtified themſelves by printed manifeſtoes; but on the twenty-third of July, ſhe marched from Dunbar to Edinburgh, and ſurprized Leith. The lords of the congregation being too generous to ſave themſelves by flight, and thereby expoſe their friends, at Edinburgh, to the reſentment of the queen-regent, put themſelves at the head of the citizens, and made diſpoſitions for engaging her army between Leith and Edinburgh; but they were diſconcerted by a threatening meſſage, ſent them from the lord Erſkine, governor of the caſtle. A.D. 1559.

That nobleman diſliked the violent proceedings of ſome of the congregationiſts, and threatened to fire upon the town, if they oppoſed the queen-regent's entering it. By this time, her ſoldiers were directing their march towards the weſt-gate, which they propoſed An accommodation.

A. D. 1559. to enter; and the congregationiſts, to avoid the effuſion of blood, thought it moſt prudent to treat. The queen-regent, notwithſtanding her ſucceſſes, and her being in daily expectation of a freſh ſupply of troops from France, appeared moderate in her demands. Such of the congregationiſts as did not reſide at Edinburgh, agreed to evacuate that town. The mint houſe, and its irons, with the palace of Holyrood-houſe, were delivered up to her majeſty, and the reformers promiſed to behave as dutiful ſubjects to her daughter. A truce between both parties was to take place, from the twenty-fourth of July, to the tenth of January following; and, during that time, the congregationiſts were to offer no moleſtation to the eſtabliſhed clergy. The queen-regent, on her part, was not to moleſt the preachers of the proteſtant religion, of which they were to have the free exerciſe in Edinburgh, and all over the kingdom; and neither French nor Scotch ſoldiers were to be quartered in that town. Such were the heads of this accommodation, which was ſigned on the twenty-fifth of July by the duke of Chatleheraut, the earl of Huntley, and D'Oyſſel, on the part of the queen-regent. As no expreſs ſtipulation had been made for the French troops evacuating Scotland, ſhe was in hopes that her compliances would have prevented her from being preſſed on that ſubject; but ſhe was deceived.

The

The heads of her own party, particularly the duke of Chatleheraut, conſidered it as a meaſure unconnected with the affairs of religion, and neceſſary for preſerving the independency of their country; and entered into a ſolemn engagement, to oblige the queen-regent, if neceſſary, to agree to ſuch evacuation. A. D. 1559.

When the congregationiſts left Edinburgh, they repaired to Stirling, where they entered into a third covenant, that none of them would treat ſeparately with the queen-regent, or enter into any correſpondence with her, but by the conſent of them all. They likewiſe agreed, that if they were farther perſecuted by the queen-regent, they would apply to foreigners for protection and aſſiſtance, and eſpecially to the Engliſh, who were of the ſame religion as themſelves. Thoſe reſolutions were dictated by the ſudden alteration of the queen-regent's behaviour, upon the acceſſion of her ſon-in-law to the throne of France, and her receiving freſh aſſurances from thence, of being liberally ſupplied both with men and money. The inſolence of the French ſoldiers became now intolerable, even to the loyal party, who were devoted to the queen-regent and her daughter. The former affected to obſerve the capitulation of Leith; but they made ſuch diſturbances, during divine ſervice, round the churches which the reformed kept poſſeſſion of, as indicated a reſolution to break the truce. The queen-regent, The reformers retire to Stirling.

A. D. 1559. gent, herſelf, ſent ſeveral meſſages, deſiring the uſe of the high church for the celebration of the maſs, but was always flatly refuſed; and, at laſt, Mr. Knox and his congregation retired to Stirling, leaving his colleague, Willocks, to preach at Edinburgh.

Their melancholy ſituation. In the beginning of September, the affairs of the Scotch reformers wore a melancholy aſpect; but they were ſomewhat relieved by the aſſurances they received from Cecil, that his miſtreſs, the queen of England, was reſolved to befriend them. She had, by means of Throgmorton, and her other agents, diſcovered, that the duke of Chatleherault and his ſon (who is ſometimes called the earl of Arran, and ſometimes lord Hamilton) had likewiſe been devoted to deſtruction by the Guiſes; but the young nobleman, who had been ſo long ſecreted in England, was diſpatched to Scotland, to ſecure his father in the intereſt of the congregationiſts, which he thoroughly effected; and the duke retired to his country-houſe to wait a favourable opportunity for his reſentment, by the aſſiſtance promiſed him by Cecil. That great miniſter's zeal for his miſtreſs, and abhorrence of the Guiſians, created him many difficulties at the Engliſh council-board. Elizabeth, herſelf, was not without her ſcruples, about ſupporting ſubjects againſt their lawful ſovereign; and they were encouraged by three of her greateſt ſtateſmen, the earl of Arundel, ſecretary

tary Petre, and Sir John Maſon, all of them papiſts, but in high credit with their miſtreſs. The Guiſes pretended, at the ſame time, that they would give her all the ſatisfaction ſhe ſhould require, concerning Francis and Mary making uſe of the Engliſh arms; and a conference was held at a place called Upſalington, in the North of England, where all differences, in regard to the execution of the treaty of Chateau-Cambreſis, were ſettled by the commiſſioners on both ſides. We are even told, that the French king for ſome time deſiſted from uſing the Engliſh arms. This compromiſe was by no means agreeable to Cecil, who complained to Throgmorton, that "the queen (to uſe his own expreſſion) was againſt the whole buſineſs of Scotland." But if that was ever her real ſentiment, ſhe ſoon had cauſe to alter it.

A. D. 1559.

Letter from Throgmorton to Elizabeth, July 13.

In the beginning of September, Le Croc, a French agent, arrived in Scotland, to acquaint the queen-regent, that the armament, under D'Elbeuf, was in great forwardneſs; and that, in a few days, about a thouſand French ſoldiers under the command of one Octavian, would land at Leith, with a ſupply of money, arms, and ammunition, with ſome perſons of experience in government, to aſſiſt her with their counſels. Le Croc, at the ſame time, delivered to the prior of St. Andrew's two letters, one from the French king, and another from the queen,

Preparations in France to reduce them.

A. D. 1559. queen, reproaching him, in the moſt bitter terms, for his ungrateful behaviour, and threatening him with the ſevereſt pnuiſhment, if he perſiſted in fomenting the troubles of Scotland. Thoſe letters were enforced by a verbal meſſage, delivered to the prior by Le Croc, that the French king would rather loſe his crown, than not be revenged of the ſeditious tumults raiſed in Scotland. The prior anſwered the letters with great firmneſs, "That he was no way conſcious to himſelf of any undutifulneſs, either in word or deed, againſt his ſovereign's laws: that it was true he had joined himſelf with thoſe of the nobility who went about the reforming of religion, and would not deny it; but this he did not eſteem a fault againſt the king or queen, for thereby nothing is ſought but the advancement of God's honour, and the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, from which if he ſhould deſiſt, it were, in effect, to renounce his Lord and Saviour. Then, this cauſe only excepted, he and the reſt, who were charged with the crime of rebellion, ſhould, in all other things, be moſt obſequent." The prior was then at Dumbarton; and he ſent the above letter, open, to the queen-regent, who having peruſed it, ſaid, "That ſhe believed ſuch a proud and rebellious anſwer was never given to a king and queen."

Spotſwood.

In a few days, Octavian arrived with the promiſed ſupplies of men and money at Leith; and

French troops arrive in Scotland.

and the queen-regent gave orders for immediately fortifying that town and harbour. She now perceived, that this reinforcement was far from being adequate to her exigencies; and ſhe ſent Octavian back to ſolicit a farther, and more powerful, ſupply, without loſing a moment's time. Finding that the heads of the congregation continued their meetings, ſhe ſent freſh invitations to the duke of Chatleheraut, and the other lords of that party, to treat of an accommodation; and even offered ſome of them, particularly the duke, and the prior of St. Andrew's, their own terms, if they would detach themſelves from their connections with the reformed: but all of them remained unmoved, and ſteady to their cauſe. They now thought, that religion was not the only point in queſtion, and that their civil liberties were equally in danger, from the conduct of the French court and the queen-regent. No parliament was ſitting, to which they could apply for relief, and they were governed by a foreign power; ſo that every principle of ſelf-defence concurred in juſtifying their oppoſition. A.D. 1559.

On the tenth of September, the lords of the congregation, according to appointment, met at Stirling, where they were joined by the lord Hamilton, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Chatleheraut. Thoſe two noblemen were fully ſenſible of the danger they had eſcaped, Strength of the reformed.

A. D. 1559. and farther exaſperated againſt the French court, by the ſecond ſon of the family being lately impriſoned at Paris. From Stirling the lords of the congregation removed to Hamilton, where the duke of Chatleheraut reſided, and a perfect reconciliation, of ſome differences among them, being effected by the lord Hamilton's mediation, the duke was afterwards looked upon as the head of the congregation. A letter was ſent to the queen-regent, expoſtulating with her upon her conduct, and admoniſhing her to deſiſt from introducing foreigners to lord it over the nation, leſt ſhe ſhould drive them to extremities. This letter was ſigned, on the twenty-ninth of September, by the duke and his ſon, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Menteith, the lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree, and others. It brought on a kind of paper war, conſiſting of proclamations, remonſtrances, declamations, and other pieces, the contents of which would be too tedious to mention here. It is ſufficient to ſay, that the queen-regent, in the end, directly charged the duke of Chatleheraut and his family with aſpiring to the crown; and, by the information of Noailles, the French embaſſador in England, accuſed them, not only of ſolliciting aſſiſtance from Elizabeth, but from other powers upon the continent. Her proclamations, of this kind, made an impreſſion upon the public, not ſo much from any regard

regard paid to her, as from the diſlike which many of the congregationiſts, eſpecially of the ſouth, had to the perſon of the duke of Chatleheraut, for having ſo often changed his party. A. D. 1559.

As the queen-regent had given orders for fortifying Leith, that it might ſerve as a landing-place for the French, the lords of the congregation ſeized upon Broughty-caſtle, for the like purpoſe of receiving ſupplies from England, and for covering from inſults the towns of Dundee, Perth, St. Andrew's, Montroſe, and other places, where the ſtrength of their party lay. This produced freſh complaints from the queen-regent, who accuſed the duke of preſuming to name the magiſtrates of thoſe and other boroughs, and even of ſtopping the proviſions that were neceſſary for maintaining herſelf and her family. They recriminated, by partly denying the charge, and partly retorting the like practices upon the queen-regent herſelf. At laſt, they came to a reſolution of diſlodging the French from Perth, and repaired to Edinburgh, on the eighteenth of October, for that purpoſe: upon which, the queen-regent threw herſelf into the garriſon of Perth. Preparations for war.

The lords of the congregation were not joined by the numbers they expected at Edinburgh; and it was thought proper, that the duke ſhould ſolemnly purge himſelf of all ambitious The reformers ſeize Edinburgh.

A. D. 1559. bitious views on the crown, which he accordingly did, by ſound of trumpet, at the croſs of that capital. In the mean while, Nicholas de Pelue, biſhop of Amiens, afterwards a cardinal, attended by three doctors of the Sorbonne, arrived in Scotland; but what was of greater importance, they were under the convoy of two thouſand French, who were commanded by De Broſſe. This did not prevent the congregationiſts of Edinburgh from once more peremptorily requiring the queen-regent to diſmantle the fortifications of Leith, and to diſmiſs her French troops. Her anſwer to this meſſage, is a juſtification of the congregationiſts. She ſent Lyon, king at arms, to acquaint the lords, that there was no occaſion to make a conqueſt of Scotland by force, becauſe it was already a conqueſt * by marriage; and that the Frenchmen were not ſtrangers, becauſe they had been naturalized. She charged the duke with having broken his promiſe, and commanded, that he and all his aſſiſtants ſhould directly leave Edinburgh, under pain of high treaſon. Thoſe inſtructions to the lord Lyon, were accompanied by a ſhort note

* It may be here proper to inform the reader, that, in the language of the Scotch law, the word Conqueſt ſignifies no more than an acquiſition; but even this conſideration does not juſtify the queen-regent, becauſe the civil acquiſition of Scotland, by the crown of France, had been provided againſt by public acts; not to mention, that the ceſſion of the crown matrimonial had never been executed.

from

from the queen-regent, importing, that their letter to her, appeared rather to have come from a prince to his ſubjects, than from ſubjects to them that bear authority. A.D. 1559.

Though it was plain, from the queen-regent's deſpotic ſtile, that ſhe thought herſelf now too ſtrong to obſerve any farther meaſures with her adverſaries, yet even this conſideration was ſo far from daunting, that it confirmed them in their purpoſes. The lord Lyon was ordered to wait for the reſult of their deliberations; and a grand council of the party was called, in which the lord Ruthven preſided. The queſtion which he put to the aſſembly, after having declared the occaſion of their meeting, was ſhort and ſenſible, "Whether ſhe that ſo contemptuouſly refuſed the moſt humble requeſt of the born counſellors of the realm, being alſo but a regent, whoſe pretences threatened the bondage of the whole commonwealth, ought to be ſuffered ſo tyrannically to domineer over them?" The reverence which the members of this aſſembly (more numerous than many preceding parliaments) bore towards their preachers, did not ſuffer them to give any deciſive opinion of this new and intereſting queſtion, without conſulting Knox and Willocks. The opinion of the latter was for immediately depoſing the queen-regent from her office. Knox agreed with his brother, but with the following remarkable reſervation: "That the Intrepidity of the reformers.

A. D. 1559. Spotſwood. the iniquity and diſorder of the queen-regent ought in no wiſe to withdraw our hearts, nor the hearts of other ſubjects, from the obedience due unto our ſovereigns. Next, That if we depoſed the ſaid queen-regent, rather from malice and private envy, than for the preſervation of the commonwealth, and for that her ſins appeared incurable; that we ſhould not eſcape God's juſt puniſhment, howſoever that ſhe had deſerved rejection from honours. And in the laſt place he required, that no ſuch ſentence ſhould be pronounced againſt her; but that upon known and open repentance, and upon her converſion to the commonwealth, and ſubmiſſion to the nobility, place ſhould be granted unto her of regreſs to the ſame honours, from the which, for juſt cauſes, ſhe juſtly might be deprived."

I do not find that any conſiderable regard was paid to the above reſervation. Each particular member of the aſſembly being called upon, joined in opinion for the deprivation, which was engroſſed as an act and decree of council. A letter, which the reader will find in the notes *, was, at the ſame time, drawn up, and

* Pleaſe your Grace,

We have received your anſwer, and heard the credit of Lyon king of arms; whereby we gather ſufficiently your perſeveration in evil mind towards us, the glory of God, our commonwealth, and liberty of our native country. For ſaving of the which, according unto our duties, we have, in our ſoverain lord and lady's name, ſuſpended your commiſſion, and all adminiſtration of the policy your grace may pretend thereby; being

tranſmitted to the queen-regent. Notwithſtanding the unanimity of the aſſembly in the decla- A. D. 1559.

being moſt aſſuredly perſwaded, that your proceedings are directly contrary to our ſoverain lord and lady's will; which we ever eſteem to be for the weal, and not for the hurt, of this our commonwealth. And as your grace will not acknowledge us, our ſoverain lord and lady's true barons and lieges, for your ſubjects, no more will we acknowledge you for any regent, or lawfull magiſtrate unto us; ſeeing, if any authority you have, by reaſon of our ſoverain's commiſſion, granted unto your grace, the ſame, for moſt weighty reaſons, is worthily ſuſpended by us, by name of authority (Knox, in the name and authority) of our ſoverains, whoſe councill we are of native birth, in the affairs of this our commonweal. And foraſmuch as we are determined, with the hazard of our lives, to ſett that town at liberty, wherein you have moſt wrongfully planted your ſoldiers and ſtrangers; for the reverence we owe to your perſon, as mother to our ſoverain lady, we require your grace to tranſport your perſon therefrom; ſeeing we are conſtrained, by the neceſſity of the commonwealth, to force the ſame by arms, being denyed liberty thereof, by ſundry requeſts made before: Your grace would cauſe depart with you, out of the ſaid town, any perſon having commiſſion of ambaſſade, if any ſuch be, or lieutenantſhip of our ſoverains, together with all Frenchmen, ſoldiers, being within the ſame; whoſe blood we thirſt not, becauſe of the old amity and friendſhip betwixt the realm of France and us; which amity, by the marriage of our ſoverain lady to the king of that realm, ſhould rather increaſe than decreaſe. And this we pray your grace and them to do, within the ſpace of twenty-four hours, for the reverence we owe unto your perſons. And thus, recommending our humble ſervice to your grace, we commit your highneſs to the eternal protection of God. At Edinburgh, the twenty-third of October.

By your Grace's humble ſerviteurs,

The council having the authority unto the next parliament, erected by common election of the earls, lords, and barons, convened at Edinburgh, of the proteſtant faction.

Earls.

My lord-duke's grace, and earl of Arran.
The earl of Argyle.
The earl of Glencairn.

Lords

A.D. 1559. ration, yet there is the ſtrongeſt reaſon, even from archbiſhop Spotſwood's Narrative, to believe, that the principles and grounds upon which it was founded, admitted of great debate. The principles of civil liberty were no longer ſecrets to the public, and many excellent writings had been lately publiſhed on that head. The examples of reſiſtance to princes, urged by the congregationiſts, were not confined to the Jewiſh theocracy, but drawn from ancient and modern conſtitutions, to be met with in prophane hiſtory, founded on the maxims of ſelf-preſervation, political independency, and the dignity of human nature. Such were the grounds upon which this aſſembly proceeded. The charges brought againſt the queen-regent were not ſo much for having violated their religious, as their civil, liberties. She had, it muſt be confeſſed, made great and important conceſſions to the former; and the heads of the congregation very properly thought, that the deprivation would appear to be an indefenſible meaſure, if too great ſtreſs was laid upon the difference

Lords.
James of St. Andrew's.
The lord Ruthven.
The maſter of Maxwell.

Barons.
Tullibardine.
The laird of Dun.
The laird of Pitarrow.
The provoſt of Aberdeen, for the Burrows.

Keith's Hiſt. of Scot. p. 105.

between

between them and the queen-regent, in matters of religion. Upon the whole, when all circumſtances are conſidered, never was any defection from government better warranted, by provocation, than that of the Scots at this time. A. D. 1559.

It is amazing with what prudence and vigour the queen-regent ſtill continued to act. Her intelligence was ſo good, that ſhe knew the weakneſs of her enemies; that they were united in no principle, but in their oppoſition to her government; that though numerous and zealous, they were deſtitute of artillery and money, and unable to make head againſt diſciplined troops, and a regular fortification. They had, however, acquired a conſiſtency, and a face of authority, by the election and inſtitution of a council, which was to direct the executive part of the government. The truth is, not only their conduct, but their writings, diſcover a much greater inſight into the nature of a limited monarchy, and the conſtitution of Scotland, than are gathered either from Knox or Spotſwood. The ſtile of their compoſitions is free, manly, and elegant, without the ſmalleſt mixture of declamation, or that intemperate zeal which characterizes the writings and ſpeeches of their preachers. It is, in ſhort, equal, if not ſuperior, to that of any publication in the Engliſh language in that age. The queen-regent, on the other hand, was ſur- Character of the reformed writings.

A. D. 1559. rounded by ignorant, furious, bigots, aſſigned by her brothers, for her counſellors, for ſuch were the biſhop of Amiens, and his coadjutors, the Sorboniſts. Her other counſellors were either military men, or ſuch as had no farther view than to preſerve the revenues and emoluments that had been aſſigned to them by her and her daughter.

Siege of Leith. Beſides the council's letter to the queen-regent, they drew up a long and particular detail of the provocations they had received from her, her repeated breaches of faith, and invaſions of their privileges, by means of the French ſoldiers, and her foreign counſellors, to be laid before queen Elizabeth. In a few days after the act of deprivation had paſſed, they ſent a meſſenger, requiring the queen-regent, and the French, to evacuate Leith. No regard being had to their ſummons, they reſolved to take it by eſcalade; and ladders, for that purpoſe, were conſtructed in the high church of Edinburgh, to the great ſcandal of the religious among their party. This was a deſperate attempt; but they were without artillery, and the ſea was open to their enemies. Before their ladders were ready, Haliburton, provoſt of Dundee, had found means to join them with a body of his townſmen, and ſome great guns, which they planted againſt Leith, but without any ſkill to manage them. The French laughed at this impotent effort; and,

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in a ſally, took the cannon, and beat the beſiegers, whom they purſued to the eaſt gate of Edinburgh, while the conſternation was ſo great in the town, that it was in danger of being evacuated, at the weſt-gate, by its inhabitants. Though the loſs of their men was but ſmall, yet the conſequences were terrible to the common cauſe. Some of the beſt affected of the party diſcovered a viſible deſpondency in their looks and behaviour. The common people complained, that they were no longer able to ſerve for want of money; and the mercenaries threw down their arms, becauſe they were not paid. The duke of Chatleheraut, the prior of St. Andrew's, and other lords, did all they could to re-animate their followers. They ſupplied them with all their ready money, and they ſent their plate to be coined; but it was found that their coining irons had been conveyed away. By their endeavours, and the ſermons of Knox, and other preachers, the face of an army was ſtill kept up; and the lord James (for ſo I ſhall now call the prior of St. Andrew's) with the duke of Chatelheraut, reſolved to take the firſt opportunity to revive the ſpirits of their men, by a briſk action. A.D. 1559.

An occaſion ſoon preſented itſelf; for they had intelligence, that a large party of the Leith garriſon had marched out, to intercept a convoy of proviſions for Edinburgh. The two The lords defeated.

A. D. 1559. lords, in hopes of cutting off this party, attacked it, towards the eaſt of the town, with greater courage than prudence. They were once more defeated; and with the greateſt difficulty they eſcaped back to Edinburgh, though their loſs was no more than thirty men. This ſecond misfortune rendered it impoſſible for the lords to keep longer poſſeſſion of Edinburgh. Beſides the two capital diſaſters which had happened to their party, they were beaten in ſmall ſkirmiſhes, and deſperate attempts to ſcale the fortifications. They had, for ſome time, conſoled themſelves, that the lord Erſkine, who was well affected to the Reformation, would declare in their favour, as that prudent nobleman had ſometimes befriended them; but their hopes were daſhed, by his peremptorily refuſing to join them. Being thus deſtitute of all reſources, they marched, in the middle of the night that ſucceeded the day of the laſt ſkirmiſh, from Edinburgh, towards Stirling, which they reached without halting.

Correſpondence of Knox with England.

Knox, all this while, kept up a private correſpondence, under the aſſumed name of Sinclair, with Crofts, the governor of Berwick. By his letters, which are ſtill extant, particularly one dated the twenty-fifth of October, he ſtrongly ſollicited a ſupply of men and money from England, though Elizabeth was then at peace both with France and Scotland. To prevent

prevent any objection of that kind, "It is free (ſays he to Crofts) for your ſubjects to ſerve in war, any prince or nation for their wages. And if ye fear that ſuch excuſes will not prevail, ye may declare them rebels to your realm, when ye ſhall be aſſured that they be in our company." Knox received no very encouraging anſwer; but it is certain, that Elizabeth was then ſo much convinced of the deſigns of the French court againſt her crown and dignity, that ſhe and her miniſters became leſs reſerved than formerly; and even while the congregationiſts were lying at Edinburgh, orders were iſſued by her council, to remit a thouſand pounds to Crofts, for the uſe of the congregationiſts; and the following remarkable article is inſerted in the ſame order: "Item, it is thought meet, that Knox be a council with the receipts and payments, and to ſee that the ſame may be employed to the common action, and not otherwiſe to any private uſe." Crofts was likewiſe ordered, but with great ſecrecy, to acquaint the heads of the party, that they ſhould be occaſionally ſupplied with farther ſums. This reſolution of Elizabeth was a ſecret to the lords when they arrived at Stirling; for on the eighth of November they ſent for Knox, who, independent of his zeal and influence as a preacher, was the beſt political agent they had; and informed him, in council, that they were

A. D. 1559.

Encouraging conduct of Elizabeth to the reformers.

A. D. 1559. were reſolved to ſend young Maitland of Ledington, as their deputy to Elizabeth, to lay before her their danger, if the French did not receive a ſpeedy and effectual check in Scotland. That gentleman had been ſecretary to the queen-regent; but being afraid of his life, for his declared attachment to the Reformation, he had left her at Leith, and had joined the congregation, at a time when their affairs were in the moſt deſperate ſituation. Being eſteemed an accompliſhed ſtateſman and courtier, he was conſidered as a great acquiſition to their party; and having proper attendants aſſigned him, he ſet out on his journey. In the mean while, Cockburn of Ormiſton had gone to Berwick, where he had received a thouſand pounds; but by the excellent intelligence the queen-regent had, he was way-laid by the earl of Bothwell, (whom the congregationiſts did not ſuſpect) wounded, and robbed of the money.

Progreſs of the war in Scotland; This loſs, though heavy at the time, did not ſo much diſcourage the congregationiſts, as it put them into hopes of a certainty that they would be ſupported from England *. They gave Elizabeth the ſame receipt for the money, as if it had come to their hands. Knox, by

* It appears by a letter, dated from Edinburgh, November 24, from Balnaves, who acted as ſecretary to the congregation, that he had received money before this time from England, for their uſe.

his

his ſermons, continued to make wonderful impreſſions on his hearers, and they remained, ſo far as I can perceive, for ſome days unmoleſted; but about the middle of December, the lords agreed, that each ſhould withdraw himſelf to that part of the kingdom where his chief intereſt lay, to confirm his followers in the cauſe of the Reformation, and to be ready to take the field on the firſt alarm. The duke of Chatleheraut, the earl of Glencairn, with the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, went to the Weſt, where they eſtabliſhed their head-quarters at Glaſgow. The earls of Rothes and Arran reſided in Fife, and the neighbouring counties, where Knox was appointed to be their ſecretary; and Balnaves was to act in the ſame capacity to the lords at Glaſgow. The latter had begun the deſtructive work of reformation, by pulling down images and altars; but before they could attack the noble fabric of the high church, they were interrupted by a party of the French, ſent, for that purpoſe, by the queen-regent, aſſiſted by the lords Seton, Sempil, and Roſs, and (as tradition ſays) by many of the townſmen themſelves. They next drove the duke of Chatleheraut's followers from the caſtle, which had belonged to the archbiſhop, and then returned to Edinburgh. In a few days after, the duke and his friends again took poſſeſſion of Glaſgow, and (with conſent, I ſuppoſe, of the Fife lords) emitted two proclamations,

A.D. 1559.

and of the Reformation.

A. D. 1559. tions, in the name of the king and queen, whom (for what reaſon does not clearly appear) they only ſtiled Francis and Mary, king and queen of Scots, dauphin and dauphineſs of Viennois. By the firſt, the clergy are charged to join themſelves to the congregation, and publicly to renounce popery, upon the pain of their being reputed enemies to God and the true religion, and being deprived of the fruit of their benefices, one part of which was to be beſtowed upon the preachers of the Reformation, and the other applied to the ſupport of their common cauſe. By the ſecond proclamation, all conſiſtorial courts, and popiſh judicatories, were aboliſhed, or transferred to the civil courts.

It is not to be diſſembled, that thoſe were bold ſteps; and, under a ſettled, legal, government, might have been deemed indefenſible; not to mention, that they breathed that very ſpirit of perſecution, of which the authors had ſo lately, and ſo lamentably, complained. The latter inconſiſtency is, I am afraid, too much the character of religioniſts, in general; but with regard to making uſe of the royal names, it was entirely conſiſtent with their former proceedings, and the ſelf-created powers which they had been obliged to aſſume. I may even venture to ſay, that it was a proof of their moderation, becauſe it was an acknowledgment of an authority ſuperior to their own. Be this as

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it will, thoſe meaſures had great effects, as it rendered a reconciliation between the two parties more impracticable than ever. But we are now to attend the motions of the queen-regent. A. D. 1559.

The very day after the congregationiſts had evacuated Edinburgh, ſhe took poſſeſſion of that town; and the biſhop of Amiens, frantic with bigotry, re-conſecrated the high church, which had been polluted by the exerciſe of the reformed religion. But that intelligent princeſs did not truſt to appearances, flattering as they were. She knew of the reſources which the congregationiſts expected in England; and that the leaſt appearance of ſucceſs would re-animate and unite their party more than ever. She diſpatched a meſſenger to inform the French court of the promiſing ſtate of her affairs; but that, to render them permanent, it was neceſſary to ſend her farther ſupplies. In the mean time, ſhe took the ſpirited reſolution of cruſhing the congregation in its ſtrongeſt fort, by ſending over a large detachment of the French to Fife. They were ordered, in their march, to deſtroy the houſes and eſtates belonging to the duke of Chatleheraut, in the neighbourhood of Linlithgow, and to proceed to Stirling, where they were to make the like devaſtations upon the eſtates of all who favoured the congregation. Thoſe orders were punctually obeyed, and they marched, by the ſea-ſide, The queen-regent retakes Edinburgh.

A. D. 1559. towards Kinghorn, where they were to receive a reinforcement from Leith. The congregationiſts endeavoured to prevent this reinforcement from landing; but they were repulſed with ſome loſs.

The war continues. The lords of the congregation were then aſſembled at Cupar, according to the directions which they had received from England. They had come to the reſolution of keeping their forces entire, and in a body, till the promiſed aſſiſtance arrived from England. They were diſconcerted by the enemy's troops ſo ſuddenly invading their head-quarters; and they eaſily perceived, that unleſs the French were checked, their cauſe muſt be ruined, as the refortifying the caſtle of St. Andrew's would give deciſive advantages to their enemies. The lord Ruthven was ſent to Kinghorn; but could not prevent that place from falling into the hands of the French. In this deſperate ſtate of affairs, the earl of Arran, and lord James, haſtily raiſed about ſix hundred horſe, and threw themſelves into Dyſart, which was but three miles diſtant from Kinghorn, to oppoſe the progreſs of the French. This ſmall body performed wonders, and anſwered all the ends that were propoſed by its gallant leaders, in retarding the march of the French for about three weeks.

Diſappointment of the French, What their numbers were, does not clearly appear. Leſley ſays, they were no more than two thouſand. Buchanan and Spotſwood make them

them double that number; and I am inclined to believe the latter, on account of the important object of the expedition. The French quarters were every hour beaten up; their proviſions were every where intercepted. La Baſtie, an officer of ſome eminence, was killed by the maſter of Lindſay, and fifty of his regiment cut in pieces, while the reſt were taken priſoners by that young nobleman, and Kirkaldy of Grange, whoſe houſe they had laid in aſhes. D'Oyſſel, who commanded the expedition, was obliged to ſend for proviſions to the ſouth ſide of the Forth; and collecting all his force, he marched towards St. Andrew's, exaſperated and aſhamed at the ſlowneſs of his progreſs. On the fifteenth of January, they ſaw a fleet beating up the Forth, which they immediately concluded to be the, ſo long promiſed, reinforcements under D'Elbeuf; and they drew out the artillery, to welcome their arrival. They were ſoon undeceived, by obſerving the new comers ſeize the tranſports, which they employed to carry proviſions for them from the ſouth ſide of the Forth; and, in a few hours, they were certainly informed, that they were Engliſh ſhips of war; which brings me to attend the motions of that court.

A.D. 1559.

1560.

by the arrival of the Engliſh fleet

The diſpoſition in which Maitland found Elizabeth, left him little occaſion for a diſplay of his abilities. I have already explained the

A. D. 1560. reaſons, which grew every day ſtronger and more alarming. The French king and his wife had reaſſumed the arms of England, which were engraved even on the ſilver plate in which Throgmorton was ſerved. The only difficulty that lay in Maitland's way, was to convince Elizabeth, that there was no danger of any ſeparate accommodation between the French and the congregationiſts; which he effectually did. Her reſolutions were quickened, by the intelligence ſhe received from France. The armament that had been fitted out for carrying over D'Elbeuf's reinforcement to Scotland, had been daſhed in pieces, or forced back by ſtorms; and fifteen hundred of his men had periſhed. Another officer, Martigues, had, indeed, reached Scotland with a thouſand men; but the Scots had found means to ſurprize the ſhips which had carried them over. The French court, notwithſtanding its promiſing appearances, was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for money. They had offered to ſell to the duke of Savoy all the places they held in his dominions; and every department of civil expence was abridged, to ſupply their ſervice in Scotland. Notwithſtanding all thoſe encouraging circumſtances, Elizabeth perſevered in her cautious conduct. At firſt, ſhe intimated to Maitland, and even inſerted it in the inſtructions ſhe ſent to her generals, her willingneſs that the Scotch congregationiſts ſhould work

out

out their own deliverance, by the aſſiſtance of her money; but, that being found impracticable, ſhe fitted out a ſtrong fleet, in a very ſhort time, through the zeal which her ſubjects expreſſed for expelling the French out of Scotland. This fleet was divided into two ſquadrons. The one, under the lord high-admiral, lay in the channel, to guard againſt any deſcent from France. The other, conſiſting of fourteen ſtout ſhips, was victualled for three months, and put under the command of admiral Winter, who was ordered to ſail for Scotland. The reader, by peruſing Winter's inſtructions, will have an opportunity to admire the artful caution, the profound policy, and determined reſolution of Elizabeth *. A. D. 1560.

* Inſtructions given by the queen's majeſty to William Winter, eſq; maſter of the ordnance of her majeſty's admiralty, ſent at this preſent to the ſeas, with fourteen armed ſhips to ſail to Scotland.

Imprimis, He ſhall ſail in one of thoſe fourteen ſhips, judged fitteſt by the lord-admiral, and ſhall take with him the reſt of the ſhips, as alſo the tranſports to carry proviſions and military ſtores to Tinmouth, Holy-Iſland, or Berwick; and ſhall bring with him all the tranſports which he ſhall find in any port ready for that ſervice, and ſhall endeavour to preſerve that fleet, and keep good diſcipline therein.

Secondly, He ſhall make what diſpatch he can with the aforeſaid ſhips of war, to convoy the tranſports to Berwick, &c. then he is to conſider, that if, without danger of the fleet, he may enter the Frith of Forth; but he is to be adviſed in this by Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir James Crofts: and if he find it not dangerous, notwithſtanding the French navy, he ſhall enter it, and commit no hoſtilities, unleſs attacked by the French or Scots of their party; and he ſhall do what he can to defend the queen's navy, and offend the French to the uttermoſt, by ſhot, fire, or otherwiſe. But if he ſhall have no hoſtilities offered him, which probably

A. D. 1560. After providing for the ſea-ſervice, ſhe nominated the duke of Norfolk, a promiſing young and army

probably the French will forbear, becauſe of their weakneſs, yet he muſt perform the things following:

First, He ſhall do what he can to hinder any French ſhip, or any aſſiſting them, to enter the Frith with proviſions or men, and that none come out of it, but to take and deſtroy them.

Second, To hinder any ſhips within the Frith to land men, proviſions, or military ſtores, for the uſe of the French or their friends, at Leith, Inch-keith, Dunbar, Blackneſs, or any other place.

Third, He ſhall aſſiſt, as much as he can, the nobility of Scotland, and their party, who have declared againſt the French for the liberty of their country.

Fourth, If he find a fit opportunity, and any proſpect of ſucceſs, he may ſurprize or fight the French navy wherever he can find them; to which end he muſt have his fleet in good order, and take what aſſiſtance he can have from the Scots who have declared againſt them: for the chief of his buſineſs is to hinder any more power to come from France, and to hinder any ſhip to go thence with intelligence.

Fifth, If poſſible, he is to communicate with Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir James Croſts, to whom he ſhall ſhew his inſtructions; and with their advice ſhall undertake what ſhall be thought moſt fit for the queen's ſervice.

Sixth, If it ſhall be thought fit not to attack the French fleet, and only to guard the mouth of the Frith, then he ſhall only be upon the defenſive. To colour this, he is to give out, that he is either driven by wind, or that he is come to victual upon the coaſts of Fife, or uſe ſome other pretext, till further occaſion ſhall happen to commit hoſtility.

Seventh, Though her majeſty hath many good reaſons to make war upon the French, yet Mr. Winter ſhall not name any as in the queen's name; but ſhall ſay, that having conveyed proviſions to Berwick, he thought fit to ride in the Frith thirteen or fourteen days, till the tranſports were unloaded at Berwick, and that he cannot be there with his great ſhips. 'Tis thought the French will ſoon give ſome good cauſe to begin the war, except cowardice prevent them; and though there be no other, he may challenge the French for carrying the arms of England, to the diſhonour of his ſovereign and his country, and which he cannot abide: and ſo, as from himſelf, he may begin hoſtilities upon any proſpect of ſucceſs.

Eighth,

nobleman, and the firſt peer of her kingdom, A. D. 1560.
to command the army; and under him the lord Grey, of Wilton, an officer of great experience. They were inſtructed, at firſt, to rendezvous the army on the twenty-fifth of January, and then on the thirtieth at Newcaſtle; but to lie upon the borders till they ſhould receive advice of Winter's motions in the Frith of Forth. They were privately to ſend ſome officers to diſcipline the army of the congregation, and they were to wink at the Scots ſurprizing and plundering one or two Engliſh ſhips, laden with artillery and warlike ſtores. Winter's ſquadron at Berwick.
meeting with contrary winds, Elizabeth found herſelf under a neceſſity to deviate ſomewhat from her cautious conduct. She ſent orders to the duke of Norfolk, who was then at Berwick, conferring with Crofts and Sadler, to ſupply the Scotch lords with money, if the fleet ſhould be longer retarded; and that rather than ſuffer their cauſe to be ruined, he was to march to their aſſiſtance with his whole army, conſiſting of ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. It was at the ſame time agreed upon, between Elizabeth and Maitland, that

Eighth, Upon the advice of Sadler and Crofts, he may endeavour to victual his fleet, or part thereof, upon Fife ſide, by the aſſiſtance of the free Scots, upon reaſonable prices, by which he may ſave his proviſions.

Laſtly, He ſhall uſe great caution, until Norfolk be come to the borders, before that time he ſhould take the advice aforeſaid.

the

A. D. 1560. the lords of the congregation ſhould nominate deputies to confer with the duke of Norfolk about the operations of the enſuing campaign, and to conclude with him a treaty for preſerving their country from being dependent upon France.

Previous negotiations. The appearance of Winter's ſquadron in the Forth, ſtruck the French, on both ſides of that river, with the utmoſt conſternation. Thoſe in Fife, were afraid of having their retreat to Leith cut off. Some of them, therefore, began to fortify Burnt-Iſland, others ſet out on forced marches, by the way of Stirling, and reached Leith in three days, with the loſs of a few men. Some of them marched by the way of Dumferling, and many threw themſelves on board ſome ſhips, and landed on the iſland of Inchkeith, which they had lately re-fortified. As ſoon as Winter dropt anchor in the road, the queen-regent demanded, by what authority he came thither? His anſwer was, according to his inſtructions, plauſible but vague; for he ſaid he was looking out for pirates. This was far from ſatisfying the queen-regent, who immediately diſpatched meſſengers and heralds to Elizabeth and her generals; and a train of negotiations and apologies followed, till, at laſt, Elizabeth plainly declared, that ſhe was reſolved to ſuffer no more French to enter Scotland; and demanded, that thoſe who were already there, ſhould depart.

Cheſter,

Cheſter, the herald, who brought this anſwer from England, when he delivered it, was inſulted by Martigues; who ſoon after went over to Inchkeith, where he ordered the fortifications both there and at Burnt-Iſland, as well as from Leith, to play upon the Engliſh fleet. This gave Winter a favourable opportunity for commencing hoſtilities, and he accordingly attacked and took two French men of war, and a ſloop full of military ſtores, pretending he did it in ſelf-defence. This vigour had a wonderful effect, by encouraging the lords of the congregation, and intimating to thoſe who were neutral, (the chief of whom were the earls of Huntley, Hume, and Morton) that Elizabeth, whatever pacific appearances ſhe might aſſume, was in earneſt, at leaſt, to drive the French out of Scotland. Towards the end of January, or early in February, the deputies who were to treat with the duke of Norfolk at Berwick, were nominated. They were the lord James, Patric lord Ruthven, Sir John Maxwell of Teiregles, Maitland the younger of Ledington, Wiſhart of Pitarrow, Balnaves of Halhill, on the part of the duke of Chatleheraut, and the lords of his party; and the duke of Norfolk on the part of Elizabeth. By the treaty then concluded, (the original of which is ſtill extant) Elizabeth promiſed to maintain the ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland in the duke of Chatleheraut's family,

A. D. 1560. Treaty of Berwick.

A.D. 1560. againſt the practices of the French. She undertook to employ an army and a fleet in Scotland, not only to expel the French from thence, but to prevent their landing there for the future. Her army was to be joined by that of the independent Scots, and not to be ſeparated, excepting the French would agree to reſtore Scotland to its independency. All the places in that kingdom taken from the enemy, were to be either demoliſhed, or delivered up to the duke of Chatleheraut and his party, at their option. In caſe the French ſhould invade England, the congregationiſts were to aſſiſt Elizabeth with two thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot, at the leaſt. The earl of Argyle, lord-juſtice of Scotland, was to aſſiſt Elizabeth's deputy in Ireland, in reducing the northern parts of that kingdom to her obedience; and the congregationiſts were to give hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty.

glorious for Elizabeth.

Such was the ſubſtance of this famous treaty, which does more honour to Elizabeth, than perhaps any other action of her reign, glorious as it was. It is fortunate for her memory, that the preſervation of the rights and religion of an independent people, were connected with ſelf-preſervation, and the intereſts of her kingdom; and that the perfidious dealings of the French court, muſt juſtify the conduct of her, and her allies, as long as the principles of liberty

berty are underſtood, and have place among men. It is likewiſe to the honour of the contracting parties in this treaty, that it expreſſes the moſt reſpectful obedience and loyalty to the lawful ſovereign of Scotland. A.D. 1560.

The queen-regent was no ſtranger to the contents of the treaty of Berwick; and ſhe informed her friends in France, that provided ſhe could receive reinforcements by the middle of May, ſhe did not doubt of being able to baffle all the efforts both of Elizabeth, and the congregation. De Sevre, an able miniſter, had relieved Noailles at the Engliſh court; and Throgmorton informed Elizabeth, that he was inſtructed to open a new ſcene of negotiations, till the reinforcements could be ready. The cardinal of Lorrain, and the princes of the houſe of Guiſe, had filled all Europe with complaints of Elizabeth, as having not only fomented the rebellion in Scotland, but formed a conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating the king and queen of France. Thoſe black accuſations made ſuch an impreſſion upon the king of Spain, (upon whoſe firmneſs Elizabeth had great dependence) that he ſent Glayon (one of his ableſt miniſters) to London, to mediate between her and the French. De Sevre, at the ſame time, was inſtructed to behave with great moderation at the court of England, to render Elizabeth more inexcuſable in the eyes of his catholic majeſty, if ſhe ſhould refuſe to treat

Letter from Throgmorton to Elizabeth, dated March 15.

Affairs on the continent.

A. D. 1560. of an accommodation. He dropt all mention of any differences between his court, and that of England; and offered, that the queen of Scotland ſhould wear the arms of England only as a deſcendent, with a mark of cadency; and that all the French, except three or four companies of foot, ſhould be immediately recalled from Scotland; and that the preparations making in France, for ſending more troops to that kingdom, ſhould be diſcontinued. Throgmorton endeavoured to convince Elizabeth how very inſincere thoſe appearances were; but nothing can be more certain, than Elizabeth being ſo much affected with her ſituation at this time, that upon a complaint of the queen-regent againſt Winter, ſhe ordered the duke of Norfolk to queſtion that admiral, why he had exceeded his inſtructions, by committing hoſtilities againſt the French? "Becauſe (ſays ſhe, in the cloſe of her letter) you know that his principal coming hither was rather to preſerve peace than to break the ſame."

Letter of the queen to the duke of Norfolk, March 9.

By this time it had been agreed between the duke of Norfolk, and the Scotch lords, that their armies ſhould join each other on the twenty-fifth of March, at a place called Acheſon's Haven; but De Sevre prevailed with Elizabeth to countermand this junction, becauſe he had engaged that the French ſhould evacuate Scotland by the ſecond of April. This

delay

delay was the more diſcouraging to the lords of the congregation, as they had not yet received Elizabeth's ratification of the treaty of Berwick; and they underſtood, that the famous Monluc, biſhop of Valence, who was thought to be the beſt negotiator in Europe, had been nominated to aſſiſt De Sevre at the court of London, eſpecially to procure ſome farther delay of time. All Monluc's abilities proved ineffectual for that purpoſe, through the diſcovery of the duplicity of the French, which had been chiefly brought to light by Throgmorton. A.D. 1560. A new treaty.

De Sevre, to give Elizabeth a bad opinion of the Scotch congregationiſts, had pretended, that the duke of Chatleheraut had applied to the French court for a pardon, which he made the condition of his ſubmitting to the queen-regent. The duke was ſo much exaſperated at this calumny, that he challenged De Sevre, and offered to fight any man in France, the king excepted, who ſhould affirm it, acquainting De Sevre at the ſame time, that if he would lay aſide his character, he had a hundred gentlemen of his own dependence, each of them equal in birth to De Sevre, and each of them ready to tell him that he lied; but other proofs were not wanting of the French duplicity on this occaſion. Upon Montluc's arrival in England, that court demanded a ſight of his powers; but inſtead of producing them, he Burleigh's Papers.

A. D. 1560. he desired to have a safe-conduct to confer with the queen-regent; and he even pretended, that De Sevre had exceeded his instructions, in fixing so early a day for the French evacuating Scotland.

Insincerity of the French.

Some letters, which were about this time intercepted from the princes of Lorrain to the queen-regent, put the insincerity of the French out of all dispute; but Elizabeth was so tender of giving umbrage to his catholic majesty, that she appeared still indecisive, and left the affair to her council-board. They did not hesitate to petition her very warmly for breaking off all farther negotiation with the French ministers; and next day a proclamation was issued, offering the French a safe-conduct out of Scotland; and threatening, if it was refused, to expel them by force. Glayon interposed, and desired that Elizabeth's army might be recalled from the borders of Scotland, for forty or fifty days, till he could know the sense of his master, the catholic king. He intimated, at the same time, that if his request was refused, his master was disposed to assist the French, in reducing the Scotch rebels. His demand was answered by a strong, but elegant, memorial, drawn up by Cecil in Latin, which fully exposes the perfidy and futility of the French court. From it we learn, that De Sevre even pretended, that the French king had threatened, if the queen, his wife, did not disuse

Petition of the council to Elizabeth, March 25.

the

the Engliſh arms, (he being always averſe to her uſing them) he would baniſh her into Scotland. A.D. 1560.

From ſome hints that fell from Glayon, as if the catholic king would be ſorry to ſee the French maſters of Scotland, queen Elizabeth, at laſt, came to a final reſolution; and Sir Nicholas Strange was diſpatched with a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, and with orders to the duke of Norfolk to put his army in motion, ſo as to arrive at Acheſon's Haven by a certain day. The duke, upon the receipt of thoſe orders, intimated the ſame to the queen-regent, who had renewed her offer of pardon to the Scots, who were in arms. This offer had little or no effect; for the duke was joined by the congregationiſts with the utmoſt alacrity. It is almoſt incredible, that, even at this time, Elizabeth appeared to be wavering as to the part ſhe was to act; but ſhe contented herſelf with ordering her two generals to do all they could for obtaining an honourable peace, by the French evacuating Scotland; tho' ſhe wiſhed that the Scots would agree to their leaving "as many as might ſtand with the ſurety of their country from danger of conqueſt, and the regard that was to be had of the French king's honour." This continued appearance of indeciſion, renewed the apprehenſions of the congregationiſts; for the duke

The Engliſh army enters Scotland.

of

A. D. 1560. of Norfolk treated with the queen-regent, even after his army had entered Scotland.

The queen-regent retires to the caſtle of Edinburgh.

That princeſs, who, during the laſt years of her adminiſtration, had acted a part foreign to her nature, and diſapproved of by her better ſenſe, began now to ſink under the cares of government. Oppreſſed in her ſpirits, and declining in her health, ſhe prevailed with the lord Erſkine, (who retained his credit with both parties) to admit her, and a few of her attendants, into Edinburgh caſtle, where ſhe avoided, as much as ſhe could, to give any direct anſwer to the moſt reſpectful applications from the duke of Norfolk, or from the chiefs of the congregation, who once more addreſſed her in the mildeſt manner. Her obſtinacy, in this reſpect, was encouraged not only by the daily expectations ſhe had of reinforcements from France, but by the intelligence ſhe received, that Elizabeth intended to withdraw her army from Scotland. All, therefore, that the queen-regent could be brought to, was to admit of a conference with Sir James Crofts and Sir George Howard, whom ſhe had known in France, attended by ſix other gentlemen. To them ſhe talked in a pretty high ſtrain, by inſiſting, that Dunbar ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the French; and that the lords of the congregation ought to humble themſelves, for having preſumed to enter into an alliance with

Letter from Throgmorton to Cecil, April 28.

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a foreign power, without their ſovereign's knowledge or conſent. A. D. 1560.

Freſh negotiation

I have dwelt the longer on thoſe particulars, (all of them drawn from the ſtate-papers of the time, and not reſting upon the partial accounts of intereſted hiſtorians, for ſuch thoſe both of Scotland and England were at this time) becauſe, though omitted by our lateſt writers, they are of the utmoſt importance, to prove under what difficulties the firſt reformers of Scotland ſtruggled in re-eſtabliſhing their civil liberties; for as to religion, the queen-regent was willing to grant all they could deſire.

It was with the deepeſt concern, that the heads of the congregation beheld thoſe conferences. The names of thoſe who joined the Engliſh army, with their followers, deſerve to be recorded here. They were the duke of Chatleheraut, with his ſon, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Sutherland, Menteith, the lord James, lords Ruthven, Ochiltree, and Boyd, the maſters of Maxwel and Lindſay, and the biſhop of Galloway, the abbot of Inch-Colm, (he was predeceſſor to the preſent earls of Moray) the abbot of Culroſs, the lairds of Ormiſton, Pitarrow, Cunninghamhead, Grange, and others. While the conferences were going on with the queen-regent, the Engliſh officers and ſoldiers were ſo well diſpoſed to the ſervice they were engaged in, that the congregationiſts perſuaded the lord Grey to attack a body of

A. D. 1560. French, of about thirteen hundred, who had taken poſſeſſion of an eminence called Hawk-Hill, near Leith. The action was extremely critical; and the French were by the Scotch cavalry driven back with conſiderable loſs into Leith. The circumſtances of the engagement are differently related; but it certainly had the effect of breaking off, for that time, all thoughts of an accommodation, and the lord Grey (the duke of Norfolk being ſtill at Berwick) was ſo zealous in the cauſe of the congregation, that diſpoſitions were making for beſieging the fortifications at Leith, and the caſtle of Edinburgh at the ſame time, when they were countermanded by Elizabeth. But her councils ſoon took another turn, from the repreſentations of her own miniſtry, and of Throgmorton, concerning the diſtreſs and diviſions of the French court.

broken off.

Sir George Howard had been ſent to her, by the duke of Norfolk, to lay before her the ſtate of her affairs in England. Her orders to him were, that he ſhould immediately return thither, and that the ſiege of Leith ſhould be continued with more vigour than ever; but without diſcouraging any reaſonable terms that might be propoſed by the French. This favourable diſpoſition of Elizabeth was moſt induſtriouſly ſpread through the Engliſh and Scotch camps, and had ſurprizing effects, eſpecially after orders came from Elizabeth to

Letter from Elizabeth to Norfolk, April 14.

lord

lord Grey, for adding two thouſand Engliſh borderers to his army, and for taking a body of Scots into Engliſh pay. Thoſe promiſing appearances induced Maitland to write to ſecretary Cecil, that "there was a great likelihood of good ſucceſs, if they could get rid of all terms of treating." Without detracting from Elizabeth's merit in ſupporting the congregationiſts, it is evident, from the moſt unqueſtionable records, that the ſucceſs of the Scotch lords was chiefly owing to their own ſpirit and firmneſs. Monluc was then at Berwick, on his way to Scotland; and the duke of Norfolk would have refuſed him a paſſport, had not Elizabeth's orders, on that head, been peremptory; ſo that he arrived in the Engliſh camp, near Leith, on the twenty-ſecond of April. The Scotch lords would have put him under arreſt, as he did not produce any powers for treating; but the lord Grey ſent him to the caſtle of Edinburgh, under the protection of an Engliſh herald. A.D. 1560. April 18.

The Engliſh beſiege Leith;

It would be uſeleſs, at preſent, to give any particular detail of the ſiege of Leith, eſpecially as the art of war, as practiſed at that time, would be unintelligible to a modern reader. I ſhall therefore keep by the great lines laid down by the ſtate-papers, which often correct and clear up the relations of hiſtorians. The arrival of Monluc once more threw a damp on the affairs of the congregationiſts; and the

A.D. 1560. lord Grey, an obſtinate old man, having taken up his head-quarters at the abbey of Reſtalrig, which was at a very inconvenient diſtance from Leith, the Engliſh ſoldiers, who had a contempt for the French, grew ſo negligent of diſcipline, that on the fifteenth of April, their enemies, in a ſally, entered their trenches, nailed up three pieces of battering cannon, cut off about ſix hundred private men, beſides officers, took Sir Maurice Berkeley priſoner, and wounded lord Grey's ſon. Thoſe particulars were carefully concealed even from Elizabeth; and, upon the whole, it cannot be denied, that the ſiege muſt have been carried on by the Engliſh in a very aukward manner, when we conſider that the town was weak, and its fortifications unfiniſhed. The lord Grey endeavoured to throw the blame of the late diſaſter upon the queen's refuſing him leave to beſiege the caſtle of Edinburgh; and upon the Scotch lords not having their full complement of men in the field; but this was ſo far from being true, that, as we learn from one of the duke of Norfolk's letters, they inſiſted upon being muſtered twice a day. The operations of the ſiege were changed, but with no effect; and the little damage which the French received came chiefly from the quarter where the Scotch lords were encamped.

The Engliſh navy, under Winter, being ſtill in poſſeſſion of the Forth, the beſieged could receive

receive no ſupplies by ſea; but their courage and diſcipline was amazing. Notwithſtanding their inconſiderable number, they kept up a communication with Dunbar, and repeated their ſallies every hour with ſuch vigour, that, according to one of the duke of Norfolk's letters to Cecil, the Engliſh alone, from the fifth of April, to the eighth of May, loſt above four thouſand men; nor can we ſuppoſe the loſs of the Scots to be leſs. As to the original number of the beſiegers, they could not be fewer than ſixteen thouſand men; but they were every day receiving new reinforcements, and were provided with an excellent train of artillery; for Elizabeth had now given orders for beſieging the caſtle of Edinburgh, provided it did not retard the ſiege of Leith. Monluc, who was ſtill in the caſtle of Edinburgh, continued to treat: but inſiſted upon the French keeping poſſeſſion of the caſtles of Dunbar and Dumbarton. The earl of Huntley, tho' of the Roman catholic religion, had, at the preſſing ſollication of Cecil, as well as the queen-regent, marched ſouthwards at the head of his followers; and entering Edinburgh, he acted the part of a mediator. He was as forward as any of the congregationiſts for the evacuation of Scotland by the French, and had entered into all the views of the Engliſh generals; but his agency proving ineffectual, we

A. D. 1560, but without ſucceſs.

A.D. 1560. we are told that he returned to his eſtates in the north.

By this time the ſhameful management of the ſiege of Leith had raiſed an univerſal indignation againſt the Engliſh generals, Grey and Crofts; and the ſailors of Winter's fleet offered to take the place, provided they were rewarded by its ſpoils. Grey, upon this, again changed his batteries; and advanced ſo near the town, that he diſmounted part of the French artillery, (a dreadful fire happening within the place at the ſame time, which burnt down the chief granaries of the beſieged) and a breach being effected, a council of war was held, in which it was reſolved to give a general aſſault to the town next day. This reſolution was taken againſt the opinion of Kirkaldy, an excellent officer; and Sadler, who declared the breach was not practicable. It was, however, attempted, and an eſcalade at the ſame time: but both miſcarried; the one through the valour of the defendants, and the latter thro' the ſhortneſs of the ladders. Crofts, who loved money, and who before was ſuſpected of being tampered with by the French, was accuſed of not ſupporting lord Grey; and was gently (but I believe very unjuſtly) ſet aſide from his government of Berwick. We have, under lord Grey's own hand, in a letter to the duke of Norfolk, a very remarkable account

Dated May 28.

count of the ſtate of the Engliſh army, after this miſcarriage. He ſays, "That whereas (ſince the beginning of the ſiege) there went out of Berwick eight thouſand five hundred foot, (beſides horſe, pioneers, and all the artillery men) they are not able now to ſhew four thouſand five hundred; and that if the queen's majeſty mind the winning of Leith, it is not to be done under twenty thouſand men; and as for the ammunition and powder, it is quite ſpent, inſomuch as they were fain to borrow five laſts of the ſhips, who could ill ſpare it." A.D. 1560. Their loſs.

The difficulties which the congregationiſts met with in the ſiege, was ſo far from diſcouraging them, that it ſtrengthened their purpoſe, and every diſappointment united them more than ever. They drew up a freſh aſſociation, which they termed a fourth covenant, for promoting the Reformation; for expelling the French out of Scotland; for recovering their liberties; and for ſubmitting all controverſies that might happen among themſelves, to the deciſion of the council. On the tenth of May, they ratified the treaty of Berwick afreſh. The parties were the duke of Chatleheraut, and his ſon, the earl of Arran, the earl of Glencairn, the earl of Rothes, the earl of Argyle, the earl of Huntley, the earl of Morton, the earl of Menteith, lord Ogilvie, lord James Stuart, Alexander Gordon, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltree, Firmneſs of the Scotch lords.

A. D. 1560. Ochiltree, Gawin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, abbot of Culroſs, lord Borthwick, lord of St. John *, lord John Aberbrothoc †, lord Somervil, lord Robert Stuart §, abbot of Kinloſs, James Stuart of St. Coln's Inch. The conduct of Elizabeth was equally ſpirited; for though ſhe at firſt fell into a dreadful paſſion, at hearing that the laſt attempt upon Leith had coſt her a thouſand men, yet ſhe ſoon recovered herſelf; and ſent orders to the duke of Norfolk to reinforce her army with two thouſand men immediately, to raiſe ſix thouſand more, and, if needful, to take upon himſelf the command of the ſiege. She ordered, at the ſame time, that particular letters of thanks ſhould be ſent, in her name, to ſuch officers and ſoldiers as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt in that ſervice. The duke punctually performed all her commands; and ordered a tent to be erected for himſelf, in the camp, before Leith.

Leith bravely defended by the French.

The queen-regent, who was then drawing towards her laſt moments, was in hopes, upon

* James Sandilands, ſecond ſon to Sir James Sandilands of Calder: He was lord of St. John at Jeruſalem, a military order of religious knights; and was thereafter created lord Torphichen.

† John Hamilton, ſecond ſon to the duke of Chatleheraut: Upon the death of his elder brother he became earl of Arran, and was afterwards created marquis of Hamilton; of whoſe body is lineally deſcended the preſent duke of Hamilton.

§ He was abbot of Holyrood-houſe, and natural ſon to king James the fifth, and was afterwards earl of Orkney.

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the late miſcarriage of the Engliſh, that they would raiſe the ſiege of Leith; and ſhe even enlarged her offers to the lords of the congregation, but all was to no purpoſe; though the Engliſh army was now reduced ſo low, that their ſoldiers durſt give no interruption to the French, in repairing their fortifications. In a few days, the affairs of the congregation had a more promiſing aſpect than ever. Eighteen French ſhips were intercepted by Winter's fleet, in their paſſage to Scotland. The riſing troubles in the Low-Countries diſabled the king of Spain (whom Elizabeth moſt dreaded) from performing his compact with the French court; and though the French, in Leith, had behaved bravely, yet they were now ſo ſhut up, and had ſuffered ſo much by the late fire, that they began to be in want of ammunition. A. D. 1560.

Such was the ſtate of the war in Scotland, when, upon the tenth of June, the queen-regent died, a ſacrifice to the perjury and ambition of the princes of her own family. She had the abilities, as well as inclination, to have prevented all the violences attending the Reformation in Scotland, and to have raiſed that kingdom to a pitch of greatneſs, unknown to former times. That ſhe was a Roman catholic cannot be doubted; but ſhe was ſo, without a principle of bigotry, or a ſpirit of perſecution. She was ſenſible that the people of Scotland were no longer to be kept in their religious thraldom; Death and character of the queen-regent.

A. D. 1560. thraldom; and ſhe would willingly have compromiſed matters, ſo as to have eſtabliſhed her daughter's civil authority, by diminiſhing the clergy's influence, and reforming their order. This was evidently her plan, when ſhe, in a manner, wreſted the regency from the firſt prince of the blood, who was become unpopular by a contrary conduct; and when ſhe aſſumed the reins of government, with the joyful concurrence of the heads of the Reformation. We have already ſeen, that ſhe was forced againſt her own better ſenſe into the paths of unpopularity; and it muſt be candidly acknowledged, that the conduct of the violent reformers was far from being defenſible. When ſhe found that her death was inevitable, ſhe laid aſide all worldly conſiderations, and gave a looſe to her genuine ſentiments. She bewailed her having been miſled by violent counſels, and her being obliged to purſue them. She ſent, at firſt, for D'Oyſſel, to whom ſhe probably intended to recommend more moderate counſels; but a ſafe-conduct being denied him, ſhe deſired to ſee the duke of Chatleheraut, the earl of Argyle, lord James, and other heads of the congregationiſts. They ſuſpected ſome inſincerity in this invitation, and declined waiting upon her at once, or truſting themſelves in a body with her within the caſtle; but they were admitted ſeparately into her chamber. To them ſhe recommended obedience to her daughter,

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the reſtoration of tranquility to Scotland, and the diſmiſſion both of French and Engliſh out of the kingdom. She exhorted them to re-eſtabliſh their own and their country's liberties; and expreſſed her concern, that they had ever been compelled to have recourſe for protection to any power, but their own ſovereign. According to Knox, next to the princes of her own family, ſhe blamed the earl of Huntley for not having accommodated matters with the reformed; and burſting into tears, ſhe prayed for, and gave, forgiveneſs from, and to all ſhe had offended. All the company was affected in the ſame manner, and ſhe bade them a moſt affectionate adieu. The ſame author, whom we can ſcarcely ſuppoſe to have prevaricated in ſo notorious a fact, while ſo many were living who could contradict him, ſays, that they perſuaded her to ſend for Mr. Willocks, whoſe miniſtry ſhe made uſe of with reverence and fervency in her laſt moments. Some time before her death, ſhe tranſmitted to her daughter a manuſcript in her own hand, containing a detail of the affairs of Scotland, with the characters of the nobility and officers of ſtate there, for her better direction in the conduct of government. Her memory has been ſo happy, that all writers agree in the character I have given her, except Mr. Knox; but what he ſays, proceeds from a viſible acrimony againſt her religion and family. She ſeems to have A.D. 1560.

A. D. 1560. died of a complication of diſorders, which terminated in a dropſy; and her body was carried over to France, where it was buried in the Benedictine monaſtery of St. Peter at Rheims, of which her ſiſter, Renee, was abbeſs.

Tranſactions in England.

Monluc, before the death of the queen-regent, having deſpaired of ſucceſs in Scotland, returned to England, where he was inſtructed to offer to Elizabeth the immediate rendition of the town of Calais, (the greateſt bait the French thought they could throw out to England) provided ſhe would recal her troops from Scotland, and cancel the treaty of Berwick. Elizabeth's anſwer was, "That ſhe did not value that fiſh-town a ruſh, when compared with the general good of her ſubjects." This expedient failing, they had recourſe to another, of a very extraordinary nature. One Randan, of the houſe of Rochefaucault, an accompliſhed French courtier, was ſent to propoſe to Elizabeth a marriage between her and the earl of Arran, who was to have been immediately declared king of Scotland. In return, (in caſe the French king died) his queen was to have a dowry provided for her, equal to the revenues of the Scotch crown; and Elizabeth was to renounce all her claims upon the crown of France, as Mary was all her right to the kingdom of Scotland. That Randan was charged with ſuch a commiſſion, appears plainly from Throgmorton's letters to Elizabeth, as well as

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to Cecil. Both theſe great ſtateſmen were ſtrongly inclined to favour the propoſal of the marriage; and Elizabeth herſelf, according to the uſual manner in which ſhe treated ſuch advances, ſeems rather to have evaded than rejected it; but ſhe choſe the method of negotiation for terminating the broils of Scotland. A.D. 1560.

Randan produced his commiſſion from the French king and queen, appointing Monluc biſhop of Valence, Pelue the biſhop of Amiens, La Broſſe, D'Oyſſel, and himſelf, to treat with Elizabeth's commiſſioners. Theſe were Cecil, that great ſtateſman, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury, an experienced negotiator, to whom were added (though only for form ſake) Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Henry Piercy, and Sir Peter Carew. The excluſion of the Scots, as principals in the negotiation, was agreeable to both parties, as it ſaved the French king the mortification of treating with his rebellious ſubjects, and rendered them the more dependent upon Elizabeth. Monluc and Randan were the two acting plenipotentiaries for France, as Cecil and Wotton were for England; and it was agreed, that the firſt meeting ſhould be at Newcaſtle, for the conveniency of holding a correſpondence with the duke of Norfolk, who was ſtill at Berwick, and the Scotch lords. The inſtructions given to the two Engliſh plenipotentiaries, admitted of long debates in the Engliſh council; and are drawn up with A new negociation

A. D. 1560. with great art and addreſs. According to them, they were to conſult the lords of the congregation upon the number of French that were to be left in Scotland, for ſaving the honour of the French king, and to take their directions about the fortifications that were to be demoliſhed in Scotland; but they were, of themſelves, to inſiſt on the demolition of Eymouth, becauſe of its neighbourhood to Berwick. If the French ſhould obſtinately inſiſt upon cancelling the treaty of Berwick, they were to urge, that a new treaty ſhould be entered into, for preſerving the liberties of Scotland from foreign invaſion, between the French king, queen, and parliament of Scotland, on the one part, and Elizabeth, and her parliament, on the other; and if that was rejected, they were to break off the treaty; as they were, if the French king and queen did not agree to deſiſt from uſing the ſtile and arms of England; and if they refuſed to grant a liberty of conſcience to the Scots, in matters of religion, at leaſt to the end of the next parliament, to be held in Scotland.

Dated May 26.

Thoſe inſtructions evince, at once, the great ſagacity of Elizabeth; and that, at this time, ſhe had no deſign to invade, but to re-eſtabliſh, the independency of Scotland, as the moſt natural means ſhe could employ for her own defence. The conferences were transferred from Newcaſtle to Berwick, where the commiſſioners

miſſioners received news of the queen-regent's death. The commiſſioners there agreed, that the town of Edinburgh ſhould be the place of treaty; and that the conferences ſhould laſt no longer than from Monday to Saturday, in the ſame week; that a ceſſation of arms ſhould be concluded; that the French commiſſioners, with their retinues, as contained in their letters of ſafe-conduct, ſhall enter Scotland with thoſe of England, none of them carrying more money than ſhall appear to be neceſſary for their ordinary expences. Neither ſhall it be lawful for them to confer with French or Scotſmen on their road to Edinburgh, or during the treaty, without conſent of the Engliſh commiſſioners, or thoſe they ſhall authoriſe to look after this matter. While the conferences were holding at Edinburgh, the French plenipotentiaries were not to leave their lodgings, without the conſent of ſuch Engliſhmen, as the commiſſioners of that nation ſhall depute to attend them. The French plenipotentiaries were at liberty to confer with the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, the late queen's ſecretary, and the juſtice-clerk, who had retired with her into the caſtle. It was lawful for the French embaſſadors to demand, have, and retain ſuch cyphers and writings, as were left by the queen-dowager in her ſecretary's hands; and that captain Chapperon ſhall deliver to them

A. D. 1560. transferred to, and concluded at Edinburgh.

A. D. 1560. them ſuch papers and commiſſions as he had lately brought from France to Scotland.

In conſequence of this agreement, the conferences were transferred to Edinburgh. In the mean while, the garriſon of Leith was in ſo miſerable a condition, that horſeflesh there ſold at a conſiderable price. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk, though he had been at great pains in reinforcing the Engliſh army, complained bitterly of the falſe muſters which had been given in by the lord Grey; and it was diſcovered, or pretended, that Randan had, among his domeſtics, ſome diſguiſed engineers, who were to act as ſuch, if the treaty ſhould take no effect. As to the garriſon of Leith, queen Elizabeth had ordered her ſhips to tranſport them to France, an offer which they ſaid they were willing to embrace; and therefore they could in no event be detained as priſoners. They were, however, ſo apprehenſive of lord Grey's cruelty, that had not the conferences for a treaty been opened, they would have ſurrendered the place to admiral Winter. It does not appear, that the death of the queen-regent had any effect upon the negotiations; but, according to Cecil's letters, (which are ſtill extant) both the French and Engliſh plenipotentiaries laboured as hard as if they had been ſoldiers in trenches. The French, according to the genius of their govern-

government, demanded the ſame terms, as they would have done, if their affairs in Scotland, inſtead of being deſperate, had been flouriſhing; for they inſiſted upon the treaty of Berwick being cancelled, and upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the popiſh religion in Scotland. The brave defence ſtill made by the French garriſon of Leith, rendered them the more peremptory in their demands; and the whole negotiation was, more than once, on the point of being thrown up. Cecil, whoſe heart was with the congregationiſts, knew that he had enemies at his own court, who would take advantage of the ſmalleſt ſlip in his conduct to ruin him, which rendered him the more ſtrenuous. He employed certain agents to diſcharge billets, on the points of arrows, into Leith, with a view of raiſing a mutiny in the garriſon, and obliging the officers to make the ſame capitulation as had been granted to the Engliſh, upon the reduction of Calais. The ſame billets intimated, that the duke of Norfolk was on his march from Berwick, at the head of a freſh army; and that if he took the place by ſtorm, he would give no quarter to any of the garriſon. A. D. 1560.

That, and other ſtratagems of the ſame kind, had no effect; but Elizabeth, well knowing the internal diſtreſſes of France, roſe in her demands, and inſiſted upon the rendition of Calais, and five hundred thouſand crowns being paid her, as a compenſation for the affront and

A. D. 1560. injury ſhe had received, by the French queen aſſuming her title and arms. Before this demand arrived at Edinburgh, Cecil fell upon an expedient, which removed the principal objection to the treaty. It was, that the Scotch congregationiſts ſhould accept the redreſs of their grievances, as a matter of favour from their ſovereigns; and that their demands ſhould be ſettled apart from the treaty between Elizabeth and the French king. It may be here proper to obſerve, tho' it has paſſed unnoticed by other hiſtorians, that this ſingle circumſtance is of importance enough to clear the leading nobility of Scotland, at that time, from all ſuſpicion of diſloyalty, and from all treaſonable intentions of abridging the crown of its juſt prerogatives. The expedient propoſed by Cecil was accepted of, and adopted by them; and as it is one of the moſt intereſting parts of the Scotch hiſtory, I ſhall give the whole of the treaty in the notes, from the manuſcript of Cecil himſelf, under the title of the "Accord betwixt the French Kyng and Queen of Scots, and the Nobilite of Scotland, 3 die Julii, 1560 *."

* "Firſt, Upon the complaint made by the nobility and people of this country againſt the number of ſoldiers kept up here in time of peace, ſupplicating the lords-deputies of the king and queen to afford ſome remedy therein, for the relief of the country: The ſaids deputies having conſidered the ſaid requeſt to be juſt and reaſonable, have conſented, agreed, and appointed, in the name of the king and queen, That hereafter their majeſties ſhall not introduce into this kingdom any ſoldiers out of France, nor

Thus a triple negotiation was concluded, one between Elizabeth and the French king, A.D. 1560.

nor any other nation whatſoever, unleſs in the event of a foreign army's attempting to invade and poſſeſs this kingdom: In which caſe, the king and queen ſhall make proviſion, by and with the counſel and advice of the three eſtates of this nation. And as for the French ſoldiers that are juſt now in the town of Leith, they ſhall be ſent back into France, at the ſame time that the Engliſh naval and land armies, together with the Scottiſh army, ſhall remove in ſuch form as ſhall be more amply deviſed. And it is likewiſe agreed, that ſuch bands of Scottiſh ſoldiers, as are within the town of Leith, ſhall be diſbanded. Item, That no more than ſix ſcore French ſoldiers ſhall be retained in the forts of Dunbar and Inch-keith, to be divided between them two places; ſixty whereof, and no more, ſhall remain in the fort of Dunbar. And if the ſtates can fall upon any ſecure means, whereby to retrench the expence laid out on theſe two places, without incurring the danger of rendering them a prey to thoſe that would pretend to make themſelves maſters of them, they are at freedom to acquaint their majeſties thereof with the ſooneſt. But the foreſaid number of ſix ſcore French ſoldiers ſhall in no wiſe be augmented: Nor ſhall it be allowable for them to do harm or injury to any perſon, nor yet to receive within their forts any Scottiſh men of what quality or degree ſoever, with intention to ſecure them from the magiſtrates of the country, or defend them againſt the officers of juſtice; nor ſhall they take any part in private quarrels, which may chance to fall out among the great men or other perſons within the kingdom: And if any complaint ſhall be made againſt any of themſelves, they ſhall be bound to anſwer before the ordinary judges of the land, and ſhall be liable to puniſhment, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the country. Item, It is provided, that to prevent their taking things upon loan, they ſhall receive their wages regularly each month. And it ſhall be lawful for two Scottiſh gentlemen, choſen by the council, to be preſent at their muſters, and to inſpect the forts, leſt there be more men got into them, than the ſtipulated number. Item, The ſoldiers belonging to thoſe two garriſons ſhall not take to them any victuals, without paying ready money for the ſame; at leaſt, they ſhall not take them againſt the good will and conſent of thoſe to whom they belong: And the nobility ſhall be obliged to furniſh them with as much as they ſtand in need of, provided they have money to pay for the ſame.

A. D. 1560. Addreſs of Elizabeth.

concerning their general and national affairs; a ſecond between him, his wife, and their Scotch

" Second, As to the petition preſented to the lords-deputies, concerning the demolition of fortifications, they have conſented, agreed, and appointed, That the fortifications of Leith ſhall be demoliſhed: And as for Dunbar, two commiſſioners ſhall be appointed by the lords-deputies, who, together with two Scottiſh men, ſhall viſit the place, and conſider what therein is fit to be demoliſhed; and ſuch new works as have been added to it, ſince the beginning of theſe troubles, together with ſuch as may ſerve to enlarge the fortification, and render it capable to receive ſoldiers, ſhall all be thrown down three days after that Leith begins to be demoliſhed. And foraſmuch as by the ſaid demolition, and the few ſoldiers that are to be left in garriſon, the place will be in danger to be ſurprized, it is accorded, That thoſe who have preſented this petition, ſhall each, in particular, oblige themſelves to defend it with all their force, againſt all thoſe that would attempt to ſeize it. The ſame thing ſhall, in like manner, be agreed upon by the ſtates, with reſpect to the wardens of the marches. And neither the king, nor the queen, ſhall hereafter cauſe to be built any new fortification within this kingdom, nor yet enlarge thoſe that are now ſubſiſting, nor repair thoſe that are now to be demoliſhed, but by the advice and conſent of the ſtates. Neither ſhall they cauſe to be imported any artillery, ammunition, gun-powder, or vivres, in a greater quantity than ſhall be neceſſary for the defence of the two forementioned forts, and the complement of their garriſons from one half year to another, or, at moſt, from year to year, without the advice and conſent of the ſtates foreſaid.

" Third, Touching the petition for the payment of ſuch debts as be owing within this kingdom by the French and Scottiſh bands, in the ſervice of the king, the lords-deputies have agreed, That the king and queen ſhall cauſe to be reimburſed whatever has been given to the king's lieutenant, to the captains, and other officers, for the ſubſiſtence of the ſaid bands; and, generally, whatever the king's lieutenant is in debt for his majeſty's ſervice, whether the ſame appear by writing, or by the confeſſion and acknowledgment of the parties.

" Fourth, Concerning the petition relating to the aſſembling of the ſtates, the lords-deputies have agreed, conſented, and appointed, That the ſtates of the kingdom may aſſemble, in order to hold a parliament on the tenth day of July, now running; and that on the ſaid day the parliament ſhall be adjourned and continued,

ſubjects, who, by their own undaunted perſeve- A. D. 1560.
rance, and the zealous policy of Cecil, ob-

continued, according to cuſtom, from the ſaid tenth day of July, until the firſt day of Auguſt next: Provided, that before the ſtates ſhall enter upon any buſineſs, all hoſtilities, both by Engliſh and Scottiſhmen, be at an end, that ſo the votes of the meeting may be unconſtrained, and none of them be overawed by ſoldiers, or any other perſons whatſoever. And during the interval of adjournment, the lords-deputies ſhall order a diſpatch to the king and queen to advertiſe them of this conceſſion, and ſupplicate them moſt humbly, that they would be pleaſed to agree to that which they have herein accorded. And this aſſembly ſhall be as valid, in all reſpects, as if it had been called and appointed by the expreſs commandment of the king and queen; provided, always, that no matter whatſoever ſhall be treated of, before the foreſaid firſt day of Auguſt.

"Fifth, Concerning the article relating to peace and war, the lords-deputies have conſented, granted, and appointed, That neither the king nor the queen ſhall order peace or war within Scotland, but by the advice and conſent of the three eſtates, conformable to the laws, ordinances, and cuſtoms of the country, and as has formerly been done by their predeceſſors, kings of Scotland.

"Sixth, Touching the petition preſented to the lords-deputies, relative to the political government, and the affairs of ſtate, within this kingdom, the ſaids lords have conſented, accorded, and agreed, That the three eſtates ſhall make choice of twenty-four able and ſufficient perſons of note of this realm; out of which number the queen ſhall ſelect ſeven, and the ſtates five; for to ſerve as an ordinary council of ſtate, during her majeſty's abſence, for adminiſtration of the government. And it ſhall not be allowed for any perſon of what rank ſoever, to meddle in any thing that concerns the civil government, without the intervention, authority, and conſent of this council: And the ſaid counſellors ſhall be obliged to convene as oft as they can conveniently, and not under ſix at a time: And when any matter of importance ſhall occur, they ſhall be called to conſult and give their orders therein; at leaſt, the greateſt part muſt be preſent. And when any one of the queen's nomination ſhall happen to die, their majeſties ſhall make choice of another to fill his place, out of the remainder of the twenty-four which were at firſt preſented to them: And in like manner, when one of the five that were nominated by the ſtates, happens to deceaſe, in that event, the

A. D. 1560. tained all the ſecurity for their civil and religious rights that they could reaſonably deſire,

the other ſurviving four ſhall elect another out of the remainder of the twenty-four that were nominated firſt. Moreover, if the ſtates ſhall find it convenient to add to the number of twelve, two more counſellors; in that caſe, the king and queen ſhall chuſe one, and the ſtates another. And it is ſpecially declared, That the conceſſion of this article ſhall in no wiſe prejudge the king and queen's rights for hereafter, nor the rights of this crown. And as for the ſalaries and expences to be paid to the ſaids counſellors, and the officers under them, the lords-deputies engage to employ their intereſt and good-offices with the king and queen, to obtain theſe for them out of the revenues of the crown, provided they take care to attend and wait upon their charge.

"Seventh, Concerning the petition preſented to the lords-deputies, reſpecting the offices of the crown, they have conſented, agreed, and appointed, That hereafter the king and queen ſhall not employ any ſtranger in the management of juſtice, civil or criminal, nor yet in the offices of chancellor, keeper of the ſeals, treaſurer, comptroller, and ſuch like offices; but ſhall employ therein the native ſubjects of the kingdom. Item, That their majeſties ſhall not put the offices of treaſurer and comptroller into the hands of any clergyman, or other perſon, who is not capable to enjoy a ſtate office; and the treaſurer and comptroller ſhall be inveſted with powers ſufficient for the exerciſe of their reſpective offices: But it ſhall not be lawful for them to alienate or diſpoſe of the wards of marriages, non-entries, caſualties, nor of any other things which have relation to their offices, without the advice and conſent of the council; that thereby the counſellors may be aſſured, that every thing is made to return to the queen's profit. Yet the deputies mean not, by this article, to have the queen limited and reſtrained from a liberty to grant penſions and gifts where ſhe ſhall think fit.

"Eighth, The lords-deputies have agreed, That in the enſuing parliament the ſtates ſhall form, make, and eſtabliſh an act of oblivion, which ſhall be confirmed by their majeſties, the king and queen, for ſopiting and burying the memory of all bearing of arms, and ſuch things of that nature, as have happened ſince the ſixth day of March, 1558. And by this act, all thoſe who have any manner of way contravened the laws of the kingdom, ſhall be exempted from the pains and penalties contained therein, as if they had never offended: Provided, nevertheleſs,

but without encroaching upon the majeſty of their ſovereign's; and a third, relating to the A. D. 1560.

theleſs, that the privilege of this act be not extended to thoſe, the eſtates ſhall not deem worthy thereof.

" Ninth, It is agreed and concluded, That the eſtates ſhall be ſummoned to the enſuing parliament, according to cuſtom; and it ſhall be lawful for all thoſe to be preſent at that meeting, who are in uſe to be preſent, without being frightned or conſtrained by any perſon. And the eſtates ſhall oblige themſelves, that in caſe there happen any ſedition, or gathering together of armed force, without the orders of the council, conſiſting of the forementioned number; the whole country ſhall look upon the authors and aſſiſters thereof as rebels, and as ſuch ſhall purſue them in order to have them puniſhed according to the laws of the kingdom; that ſo neither the king nor the queen may be at any trouble in ſending foreign ſoldiers hither, for enforcing obedience to themſelves.

" Tenth, It is agreed and concluded, That there ſhall be a general peace and reconciliation among all the nobility, and other ſubjects of Scotland; and it ſhall not be lawful for thoſe perſons who have been called the congregation, nor for thoſe who were not of the congregation, to reproach each other with any thing that has been done ſince the aforeſaid ſixth day of March.

" Eleventh, The lords-deputies have offered, agreed, and concluded, That neither the king nor queen ſhall proſecute, nor take revenge for any thing that is now paſt and gone; nor ſhall not allow their French ſubjects to proſecute nor revenge the ſame, but ſhall forget the ſame, as if it had never been done: And that the lords and gentlemen of Scotland ſhall comport themſelves after the ſame manner, for ſuch things as have paſſed between them and the Frenchmen in this country. Moreover, if by falſe reports, or by other means, their majeſties have conceived ſiniſter thoughts of any of their ſubjects, they ſhall forget and change the ſame: Neither ſhall they denude or deprive any of their ſubjects of their offices, benefices, or eſtates, which they held formerly within this kingdom upon account of their having had any meddling in the things which have fallen out ſince the ſixth day of March foreſaid; nor yet aſſume a pretext or colour from any thing elſe, to deal ſo by their ſubjects, but eſteem and treat them in all time coming as good and obedient ſubjects: Provided, alſo, that the ſaid nobles, and the reſt of the ſubjects, render

A. D. 1560. evacuation of Leith. Though they were inſerted in the treaty between Elizabeth and the

render unto their majeſties, ſuch an entire obedience as is due from faithful and natural ſubjects to their proper ſovereigns.

" Twelfth, It is agreed and concluded, That it ſhall not be lawful for the nobles nor any other perſons to convene together in arms, except in ſuch caſes as are approved by the laws and cuſtoms of the land; nor yet to invite and bring in foreign ſoldiers, nor to enterprize any thing againſt the authority of the queen, the council, or any inferior magiſtrates, under the pains of rebellion and other penalties, contained in the laws of the country. And if it happen that any perſons whatſoever ſhould pretend, that they had occaſion given them to complain of injuries and to take up arms; in that caſe it ſhall be free to them to preſent a ſupplication to their majeſties, but not until they have firſt communicated the ſame to the council within the kingdom. And all in general ſhall bind themſelves to perform this and all other things which belong to good and loyal ſubjects, for the peace and tranquility of the country, under the pains foreſaid; and to do every thing that lyes in their power, for the preſervation of the kingdom, and the rights of their ſovereign.

" Thirteen, It is agreed and concluded, That if any biſhops, abbots, or other eccleſiaſtical perſons, ſhall make complaint, that they have received any harm either in their perſons or goods, theſe complaints ſhall be taken into conſideration by the eſtates in parliament; and ſuch reparation ſhall be appointed, as to the ſaids eſtates ſhall appear to be reaſonable. And, in the mean time, it ſhall not be lawful for any perſon to give them any diſturbance in the enjoyment of their goods, nor to do them any wrong, injury, or violence. And whoſoever ſhall act in contravention to this article, ſhall be purſued by the nobility as a diſturber of the public weal and tranquillity.

" Fonrteenth, It is agreed and concluded, That the nobility ſhall bind and oblige themſelves to obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, all the ſeveral points and articles comprehended in, and granted by this treaty: And if it ſhould ſo happen, that any one among them, or any other perſon or perſons ſhall contravene the ſame, in that caſe all the reſt of the nobility and people ſhall become enemies to them, and ſhall purſue them until they be puniſhed according to their deſerving.

" Fifteenth, And to the end, the whole kingdom may perceive, that the king and queen are willing to retain no remembrance

French king, yet they are diſtinct acts; but drawn up in ſuch a manner, that Elizabeth be- A. D. 1560.

brance of all the by paſt troubles and differences, and how deſirous they are to treat in a favourable manner the nobility and the other ſubjects of this kingdom, the lords-deputies have agreed, That the duke of Chatleheraut, the earl of Arran, his ſon, and all other Scottiſh gentlemen, ſhall be reinſtated in the lands, goods, eſtates, and benefices, which they formerly held within the kingdom of France, and poſſeſs and enjoy them after the ſame manner as they did before the commencement of the troubles on the ſixth day of March 1558, and as if thoſe troubles had never fallen out. And likewiſe it is agreed, That all the capitulations made in times paſt, ſhall be maintained and obſerved as well by their majeſties as by the nobility and people of Scotland; and, in particular, that which was made and agreed at the marriage of the king and queen. And the lord David, ſon to the duke of Chatleheraut, who is now (priſoner) in the caſtle of Bois de Vincennes, ſhall be ſet at liberty to return into Scotland, or to diſpoſe of himſelf at his own pleaſure.

"Sixteenth, And whereas the lords-deputies have ſignified, that the king may have uſe for his artillery in France, it is adviſed and concluded, That no other artillery ſhall be tranſported out of Scotland, than what was ſent thither ſince the death of the late king of France; and that all other pieces, but eſpecially thoſe which are marked with the arms of Scotland, ſhall be reſtored to the places from whence they were taken: And for the diſtinguiſhing of theſe ſeveral pieces of artillery, four commiſſioners ſhall be appointed, before the embarkation of the troops, viz. two Scottiſh, and two French gentlemen.

"Seventeenth, Whereas on the part of the nobles and people of Scotland, there have been preſented certain articles concerning religion, and certain other points, in which the lords-deputies would by no means meddle, as being of ſuch importance, that they judged them proper to be remitted to the king and queen: Therefore the ſaids nobles of Scotland have engaged, that in the enſuing convention of eſtates, ſome perſons of quality ſhall be choſen for to repair to their majeſties, and remonſtrate to them the ſtate of their affairs, particularly thoſe laſt mentioned, and ſuch others as could not be decided by the lords-deputies; and to underſtand their intention and pleaſure concerning what remonſtrances ſhall be made to them on the part of this kingdom of Scotland: And thoſe gentlemen ſhall carry along with them, to the king and queen, the confirmation and

A. D 1560. comes guarantee for the performance. The reader, by conſulting the notes *, will ſee with

ratification made by the eſtates, of the ſeveral articles which are preſently granted by the lords-deputies; at which time they ſhall get delivered to them the confirmation and ratification done by their majeſties, and even ſooner, if the eſtates ſhall tranſmit their own ratification before that time. In witneſs whereof, the ſaids lords-deputies have ſigned theſe preſent articles, at Edinburgh the fifth day of July, 1560."

* Article one and two. [The treaty of Cambray is confirmed: but I omit to ſet down theſe two articles at length.]

"Third, It is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That all the military forces pertaining to either party by ſea or land, ſhall depart out of Scotland, after the manner, and upon the terms, as ſhall be agreed by particular articles, ſigned and ſealed by the reſpective commiſſioners; ſuch a certain number of French ſoldiers excepted, as ſhall be condeſcended upon by the commiſſioners of France, and the lords of Scotland, to remain in the caſtle of Dunbar, and fort of Inch-keith.

"Fourth, It is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That all manner of warlike preparations in England and Ireland againſt the French or Scots; and in France againſt the Engliſh, Iriſh, or Scots, ſhall hereafter ceaſe: So that no ſhips having on board any ſoldiers or warlike inſtruments, or preparations for war, ſhall be allowed to paſs from England or Ireland, or from any other part, into France or Scotland, by and with the conſent of Elizabeth queen of England; nor from France, nor any other part, to England, Ireland, or Scotland, by and with the conſent of Francis and Mary king and queen of France and Scotland.

"Fifth, Seeing in the forementioned treaty of Cambray, it was agreed and concluded, That the fort built at Aymouth in the kingdom of Scotland, ſhould have been demoliſhed within three months after the date of the ſaid treaty, razed to the ground, and nothing ever thereafter to have been built there: And although the ſaid fort be in ſome ſort demoliſhed, yet not ſo as was agreed upon; therefore it is now appointed, agreed, and concluded, That the ſaid fort of Aymouth ſhall be utterly demoliſhed and razed before the end of four days, after the demolition of Leith ſhall begin. And in the demoliſhing of the ſaid fort, ſuch Scottiſh men as ſhall be deputed thereunto by the commiſſioners, ſhall be at freedom to make uſe of the labour of Engliſh pioneers.

"Sixth, Seeing the kingdoms of England and Ireland do, by right,

what great precaution the whole was conducted, by making the tranſaction, with every A. D. 1560.

right, pertain to the moſt ſerene lady and princeſs Elizabeth; upon which account it is not lawful for any other perſons to call, write, name, or entitle themſelves, nor yet to order themſelves to be called, written, named, or entitled king and queen of England or Ireland, nor to uſe or take to themſelves the enſign's armorial, or arms of the kingdom of England or Ireland: Therefore it is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That the ſaid moſt chriſtian king and queen Mary, and both of them, ſhall in all times coming, abſtain from uſing and bearing the ſaid title and arms of the kingdom of England or Ireland, and ſhall ſtrictly prohibite and forbid their ſubjects in France and Scotland, and the provinces thereof, from uſing the ſaid title and arms any manner of way; and ſhall likewiſe prohibite and take care, ſo far as in them lyes, that no perſon quarter the ſaid enſigns armorial with the arms of the kingdoms of France or Scotland. And if there be any publick letters or writings which carry in them the title of the kingdoms of England or Ireland, or be ſealed with the ſeal of the ſaid kingdoms, or either of them; the ſame ſhall be renewed, without the adjection of the title and arms of England and Ireland; and all letters and writings containing the ſaid title, or ſealed with the ſeals of the ſaid arms, which ſhall not be renewed within ſix months after the publication of this preſent treaty, ſhall be void, and of no avail. Finally, They ſhall take care, ſo far as they can, that in the ſaid kingdoms of France and Scotland, the ſaids arms be no where extant, ſeen, or found mixed with the arms of the ſaids king or queen Mary; and that the ſaid title be no where extant, ſeen or found aſcribed to the ſaids king or queen Mary.

"Seventh, Whereas the commiſſioners of the moſt ſerene queen Elizabeth did require, that the foregoing caution and proviſion contained in the cloſe of the article immediately preceeding, ſhould be publiſhed by open proclamation; and did likewiſe inſiſt on a farther compenſation and reparation for the injuries which they alledged were done to the ſaid moſt ſerene queen Elizabeth, by the ſaids moſt ſerene king and queen Mary: And whereas the commiſſioners of France, after having replied ſundry things in anſwer thereunto, did farther add, That they had no authority to treat or conclude any thing concerning theſe particulars; and if they ſhould wait until a return ſhall come from France, not only would there ariſe from thence a great loſs of time; but moreover ſtrong impediments may come in the

A. D. 1560. circumſtance attending it, as valid as if the contracting ſovereigns had been perſonally pre-

way of compleating the preſent treaty of peace and amity: Therefore it is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That the diſceptation concerning the above demands, namely, concerning the publication of the foreſaid caution, and concerning a farther reparation, ſhall be remitted to another meeting at London between the ſaids commiſſioners of both parties, to be aſſembled as quickly as conveniently may be. And if nothing can be got concluded, concerning the ſaid diſceptation, before the end of three months, to be reckoned from the date of the preſent treaty; in that caſe, the ſaid diſceptation ſhall, by conſent of both parties, be referred to the arbitration of the moſt mighty prince Philip the catholick king of Spain, to whoſe ſentence and award both parties ſhall ſtand. And if the ſaid catholic king ſhall not find it convenient for him to pronounce a final decree in writing, concerning theſe matters, within a year after the aforeſaid three months are elapſed, excepting ſtill if the term ſhall not chance to be prolonged by conſent of both parties; whether there be no ſuch prolongation of the time, or the ſaid catholick king do not put an end to the ſaid diſceptation within the time ſo prolonged: In either of theſe caſes, the ſaid moſt ſerene queen Elizabeth's right of ſuing for theſe things ſhall be reſerved entire to her, in the ſame ſtate and condition it was in before the commencement of this treaty.

"Eighth, Seeing it hath pleaſed Almighty God, in whoſe hands are the hearts of kings, ſo to incline the minds of the ſaids moſt chriſtian king and queen Mary, that they have largely manifeſted their clemency and benignity towards their nobility and people of their kingdom of Scotland, and that reciprocally the ſaids nobility and people have willingly, and of their own accord, acknowledged, profeſſed, and promiſed all duty and obedience to the ſaids moſt chriſtian king and queen their ſovereigns: For the better preſervation, cheriſhing, and continuance whereof, the ſaids moſt chriſtian king and queen have, by their ſaids commiſſioners, granted their aſſent to certain ſupplicatory petitions preſented by the ſaids nobility and people to the ſaids king and queen, tending to the honour of the ſaids king and queen, to the publick benefit of the ſaid kingdom, and to the continuation of their obedience. And the ſaids moſt chriſtian king and queen being deſirous to have their ſaid benignity towards their ſaid ſubjects attributed to the good offices of the ſaid moſt ſerene queen Elizabeth, their moſt dear ſiſter and con-

federate,

ſent, "even although ſomething ſhould fall out which might appear to require a more ſpecial inſtruction than is contained in their authori- A. D. 1560.

ſederate, at whoſe interceſſion and requeſt the ſaids king and queen have been more propenſely moved hereunto; therefore it is agreed between the foreſaid commiſſioners of both parties, That the ſaids moſt chriſtian king and queen Mary ſhall fulfil all thoſe things which, by their ſaids commiſſioners, they have granted to the ſaids nobility and people of Scotland at Edinburgh the ſixth day of July, in this preſent year 1560, provided the ſaids nobility and people of Scotland ſhall fulfil and obſerve all thoſe things that are contained in the ſaids articles and conventions to be performed on their part.

"Ninth, In this treaty of peace and amity is comprehended, on the part of the ſaids moſt ſerene princes Francis the moſt chriſtian king of France and queen Mary, as likewiſe on the part of the moſt ſerene Elizabeth queen of England, the moſt potent prince Philip the catholick king of Spain, conformable to the force and effect of treaties ſubſiſting between the ſaids kings and queens, their kingdoms, territories, countries, and dominions.

"Tenth, It is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That this preſent treaty, with all, and ſeveral, the conventions and contents thereof, ſhall be ratified and confirmed by the ſaids moſt mighty and illuſtrious Francis and Mary, and Elizabeth, and each of them, within the ſpace of ſixty days after the date of this treaty, and ſhall be turned by them into letters patents, with their great ſeals appended, and their proper manual ſubſcriptions adjoined: And the ſaid princes, and each of them, ſhall deliver the ſaids confirmatory authentick letters, ſo ſubſcribed and ſealed, to the commiſſioner or commiſſioners of the other prince, having authority to this effect.

"Eleventh, It is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That the ſaids moſt illuſtrious and moſt mighty princes Francis and Mary, and Elizabeth, and every of them, ſhall in the preſence of the commiſſioner or commiſſioners of the other prince, having ſufficient authority for this effect, if required by him or them, promiſe on their royal word, and ſwear upon God's Holy Goſpel; and every of them ſhall ſo ſwear, That they ſhall truly, inviolably, and in good faith, obſerve, for their part, all, and every, the articles, conventions, proviſions, and facts, comprehended in this preſent league and treaty.

ties."

A. D. 1560. ties." This proviſion is of the more importance, as it renders the after-conduct of the French king and queen, both with regard to Elizabeth and their Scotch ſubjects, inexcuſable. This treaty, which is ſometimes called that of Leith, and ſometimes that of Edinburgh, did not, it is true, introduce a new civil conſtitution into Scotland, but it brought its government back to its firſt principles, which, ever ſince the reign of James the third, had been neglected or diſuſed. The excluſion of foreigners, the limiting the power of making peace and war, without the concurrence of parliament, the inſtitution of a new council, in the nominating of which, the ſovereign had but a bare majority, and the act of amneſty, which was included in the treaty, were all of them capital acquiſitions, and left the beſt friends of liberty nothing more to wiſh for in thoſe reſpects.

Notwithſtanding thoſe excellent proviſions, it cannot be diſſembled, that the article of religion was left too unguarded; and it was eaſily foreſeen that the French king and queen would avail themſelves of the looſe manner in which that ſtipulation was worded. On the eighth of July, the peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh; and on the ſixteenth of the ſame month the French army was embarked on board the Engliſh ſhips, while the Engliſh troops began their march to Berwick. The latter

latter were attended by the chief nobility of Scotland for ſome miles; but the lord James accompanied them to Berwick. A public thankſgiving was celebrated in the High-church of Edinburgh; and all parties appeared highly ſatisfied with the treaty that had been made, only Elizabeth ſeemed to wiſh that the Scotch lords ſhould have been diſabled from holding their preferments and eſtates in France. A.D. 1560. A thankſgiving.

The public expectation, in Scotland, was now wound up to the higheſt pitch. The eyes of all were fixed upon the parliament, which was ſummoned to meet on the tenth of July, and which was more numerous than, perhaps, ever had been known in that kingdom. It appears from the catalogue of the members, which has come to our hands, that the leſſer barons (by whom I mean thoſe who were not lords of parliament) had a right to be preſent; and, therefore, I muſt be of opinion that it was optional for them to appear either in their own perſons, or by their repreſentatives. What the preciſe number of the members was we know not; becauſe the liſt, after mentioning all the noblemen and gentlemen of principal note in Scotland by their names, adds, "with many other barons, freeholders, and landed men, without armour." In ſhort, I am inclined to conſider this parliament not ſo much the repreſentative, as the collective, body of the Scotch landholders. and a parliament. Keith.

Nothing

A. D. 1560.

Its proceedings.

Nothing could be more ridiculous or abſurd than an objection which was ſtarted the firſt day againſt the legality of the meeting, becauſe no perſon was preſent to repreſent the ſovereign, and becauſe no commiſſion had arrived from the queen, or her huſband. This objection was very ſenſibly over-ruled by the members, on account of the ſtipulation, that a parliament ſhould be kept in the month of Auguſt; and that the ſame ſhould be as lawful, in all reſpects, as if it were ordained by the expreſs commandment of their majeſties. The meeting was adjourned from the tenth of July to the firſt of Auguſt following; and upon its reaſſembling, and proceeding to buſineſs, the voices of the members were almoſt unanimous in favour of the new religion, tho' it is certain that many of the moſt violent popiſh prelates were preſent in the aſſembly; but they obſerved a profound ſilence during the debates. The lords of the articles were choſen, without any regard to the order of prelacy, from thoſe members who were beſt affected towards the Reformation; and all the debates about the legality of the meeting being over-ruled, a paper, in form of a ſupplication, was preſented to the aſſembly, demanding, "Firſt, That the doctrines of tranſubſtantiation, juſtification by works, indulgence, purgatory, pilgrimage, and invocation of ſaints, be aboliſhed by authority of parliament. Second,

cond, That the profanation of the holy ſacraments be prevented, and the diſcipline of the ancient church reſtored. Third, That the pope's uſurped authority may be aboliſhed, and the patrimony of the church employed to the ſuſtentation of the miniſtry, the proviſion of ſchools, and ſupport of the poor." A.D. 1560.

This ſupplication admitted of great debates. It was agreed, on all hands, that a reformation was neceſſary, with regard to the doctrinal and practical parts of religion; and that a confeſſion of faith ſhould be drawn up, to be approved of by the aſſembly. The third article was not ſo eaſily ſettled, as many of the leading congregationiſts were in poſſeſſion of eccleſiaſtical property, which they did not chuſe to refund. This article was therefore poſtponed; and the reformed miniſters were required immediately to draw up a ſummary of the religious doctrines they wanted to be eſtabliſhed, which they accordingly did, in the form of a confeſſion of faith, and which was authorized by the ſtates on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt. It was highly obſervable, that during all the debates on this head, no argument was advanced in favour of the old religion; and the earl Mariſchal, who, though a high royaliſt, profeſſed the reformed religion, ſaid, "That the ſilence of that party was a tacit condemnation of popery, and an evidence in favour of the confeſſion." On the other hand, and reſolutions.

A.D. 1560. it has been pretended, that the popiſh clergy muſt have endangered their own lives, had they made any oppoſition; and that the duke of Chatleheraut's violence was ſuch, that he threatened his brother, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, with death, if he attempted to oppoſe the confeſſion. The parliament, next, proceeded to aboliſh the maſs by an act, declaring the former clergy to be only uſurping miniſters, and the new preachers to be the only perſons that have power to adminiſter the holy ſacraments. The ſayers and hearers of maſs were, for the firſt fault, to ſuffer the confiſcation of all their goods whatſoever, moveable and immoveable, and a corporal, diſcretionary, puniſhment beſides; for the ſecond fault, baniſhment out of the kingdom; and for the third, loſs of life. Thoſe ordinances are mortifying conſiderations to the pride of men, who adopted the ſame ſpirit of perſecution which they themſelves, of late, had ſo ſeverely felt, and ſo bravely oppoſed.

By another act, the pope's authority in Scotland was aboliſhed; and all laws concerning religion were repealed, that did not coincide with the confeſſion of faith that had been ſo lately approved of by the ſtates. Beſides thoſe leading acts, others were made, diſabling the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and other prelates, from granting leaſes of their church lands, and enabling the landholders to ſeize

upon

upon their tenths; but to keep them in their hands, till the ſenſe of parliament could be known how they were to be diſpoſed of. It appears, likewiſe, from an extract of this parliament's proceedings, publiſhed by Mr. Keith, from the Scotch college at Paris, that the eccleſiaſtics had been twice called upon to exhibit their bills of complaint; but that having preferred none, the lords and nobility concluded that they had done their duty, according to the articles of the peace. Several other private acts paſſed in the ſame meeting, ratifying, to the lords and members of the congregation, the penſions that had been granted them by the crown, though not confirmed by the pope. Before the meeting broke up, the lords of the regency, as they may be called, were named, and the choice fell upon the duke of Chatleheraut, the lord Arran, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Athol, Menteith, Mariſchal and Rothes; the lords James, Erſkine, Ruthven, Lindſay, Boyd, Ogilvie, St. John, and the maſter of Maxwell; the lairds (or leſſer barons) of Londy, Pitarrow, Dun, Cunninghamhead, Drumlanrick, and young Ledington. Out of the above four and twenty noblemen and gentlemen, their majeſties were to chuſe eight, and the nobility ſix. A.D. 1560.

According to the pacification abovementioned, Sir James Sandilands, lord St. John of Jeruſalem, who afterwards erected a temporal Sir James Sandilands ſent to France.

A. D. 1560. lordſhip out of that order, was ſent to France, to lay before their majeſties the acts which had paſſed, and to obtain the ratification of the ſame. It muſt be acknowledged that Sandilands could not be a very agreeable perſon to execute ſuch a commiſſion with two violent Roman catholic princes; and that the parliament, by employing him, manifeſted an indifference with regard to his ſucceſs. From the ſhattered remains of his inſtructions, publiſhed by Mr. Keith, he ſeems to have been commiſſioned to repreſent the proceedings of parliament as the unanimous voice of the nation. To underſtand this the better, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that when the leſſer barons met, upon aſſembling the parliament, they preſented a petition, requiring to be admitted into that body, "as uſe and cuſtom had been of old, by ancient acts of parliament obſerved in this realm; and whereby we underſtand, that we ought to be heard to reaſon, and vote in all cauſes concerning the commonwealth, as well in councils as in parliaments; otherwiſe we think, that whatſoever ordinances and ſtatutes made concerning us and our eſtate, we not being required and ſuffered to reaſon and vote at the making thereof; that the ſame ſhould not oblige to ſtand thereto." When this petition was read, it was voted unanimouſly, That the barons, according to an old act of parliament, made in the time of James I. in the year of God

God 1427, ſhall have free voice in parliament. I have been the more particular in thoſe extracts, as they are freſh proofs how well the barons of Scotland underſtood the principles of free government, and that they could not be ſubject to taxation or other ſtate ſervices, without their own conſent. The nobility, as well as they themſelves, were of opinion, that they had a natural right to this privilege, and that the conſent of the ſovereigns was not neceſſary to eſtabliſh it. A. D. 1560.

About the time that Sandilands was ſent to France, queen Elizabeth had ordered Throgmorton, and Sir Peter Meutas, to demand of the French king and queen a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; but this was flatly refuſed, as well as a ratification of the conceſſions which had been made to the Scotch nobility, under the guaranty of Elizabeth, and the nomination of the regency. The pretext was, that the treaty of Berwick was founded upon rebellious principles; that the hands and ſeals of ſome of the Scots to the ſame had been counterfeited; and that the lords had failed in what they had promiſed. Thoſe reaſons were equally falſe as frivolous; but Mary, at the ſame time, pretended that ſhe was preparing to paſs over to Scotland, and there to ſettle the government on a laſting foundation. This declaration alarmed young Maitland, who had been ſpeaker in the late parliament, and he opened himſelf Negotiations there.

A. D. 1560. himſelf very freely to Cecil on that head. It is not too bold a conjecture to ſay, that the nobility of Scotland, at this time, were ſo ſenſible of the influence which the perfidy of the French court had upon their queen, that they reſumed their thoughts of transferring their allegiance to the earl of Arran, provided queen Elizabeth could be brought to accept of him for a huſband. As to Sandilands, his reception was ſuch as might have been expected from the diſagreeable tenor of his commiſſion. The Scotch queen abſolutely refuſed to acknowledge the validity of the late parliament, nor were its acts ever ratified by the crown. The only colourable pretext for this was, that the aſſembly had exceeded their powers granted them by the pacification, in ſettling religious matterss by act of parliament, inſtead of referring them to the king and queen. This, it muſt be admitted, exceeded their powers, as preſcribed by the pacification; but they thought, that without ſuch a parliamentary eſtabliſhment, all they had done, either for their religion or liberties, muſt go for nothing. In this they were ſeconded by the voice of the nation, who paid a more perfect obedience to thoſe acts, though unauthenticated by the crown, than they did to ſtatutes legally executed and ratified.

and in England. The caution of Elizabeth continued to put the Reformers under great difficulties. She complained of the vaſt expence of the late arma-

armaments ſhe had ſent to Scotland, and how inconvenient it was, conſidering the power of the Guiſes in France, to break with that crown. Before the Scotch parliament was prorogued, a reſolution had been taken to ſend the earls of Morton and Glencairn, with young Maitland, to the court of England, with inſtructions to labour all they could for bringing about the match between queen Elizabeth and the earl of Arran. I ſhall not repeat the national and other reaſons on which thoſe inſtructions were founded; but there was upon the face of them no great encouragement for Elizabeth to agree to the propoſal, unleſs (which I am very apt to believe) ſome ſtrong inducements were offered her. It can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed, that a young princeſs in all the pride of youth and royalty, (for ſuch Elizabeth then was) adored by her ſubjects, and courted by all Europe, would ſtoop from ſuch a condition to marry a ſubject of Scotland, only becauſe he was the ſecond perſon of the realm, and (to ſpeak in the words of the inſtructions) heir apparent to the crown, eſpecially as the reigning queen had not yet reached the twentieth year of her age. Add to this, that Elizabeth was perſonally acquainted with the earl of Arran, and knew him to be a nobleman of weak intellects, as ſoon after appeared by the ſtate of inſanity into which he fell. I am therefore inclined to believe, that had A.D. 1560.

A. D. 1560. had Elizabeth been favourable to this match, the eſtates of Scotland would have put her and the earl in poſſeſſion of the kingdom. The ſtate of parties favours this conjecture. The leading eccleſiaſtics, then in Scotland, were devoted to the aggrandizement of the Hamilton family; and the order of parliament, for bringing about the match, was ſigned by the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, the biſhops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Dunblane, Argyle, and the elect of the Iſles; and by as many abbots and priors, viz. the prior of St. Andrew's, abbots of Arbroth, Newbottle, and Culroſs; the commendator of Kilwinning, and the prior of Lochlevin; alſo by the duke, the earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, Crawford, and Sutherland; and by the lords Erſkine, Gordon, Salton, Hay, Ochiltree, Innermeth, Boyd, Lindſay, Gray, and ſome others, whoſe names cannot be read; and by eighteen provoſts of burghs. The inſtructions, beſides the affair of the marriage, were filled with the moſt grateful acknowledgments to Elizabeth, for the obligations ſhe had conferred upon the realm of Scotland.

about Elizabeth's marriage with the earl of Arran.

Burnet.

Keith.

About the time that this propoſal was made to Elizabeth, the family of the Guiſe had obtained many advantages over the French hugonots, and had reduced them to a low paſs. This added to the caution of Elizabeth; but ſhe treated the Scotch commiſſioners with a politeneſs,

politeneſs, and their buſineſs with a delicacy that was peculiar to herſelf, though without leaving them any room to hope for ſucceſs in the affair of the marriage. Her anſwer has been printed; and though it is too long to be inſerted here, it appears pretty plainly that the commiſſioners had not barely confined themſelves to the propoſal of marriage, but that an immediate ceſſion of the crown was to be made to Elizabeth. "Her majeſty (ſays the anſwer) cannot interpret that motion (viz. of the marriage) to come but both of a good meaning of the ſame eſtates, pretending thereby to knit both theſe kingdoms preſently in amity, and hereafter to remain in a perpetual amity." Theſe expreſſions can never ſuit with a bare propoſal of marriage, which, as Mary was then in the bloom of her years, muſt have put the two kingdoms at greater variance with each other than ever. A. D. 1560.

During the dependence of this negotiation, Francis the ſecond, huſband to the queen of Scotland, died on the fourth of December, in the ſeventeenth year of his age, without leaving any particular character in hiſtory, but that of being a weak prince in mind as well as body, and entirely under the guidance of his wife, and her uncles of the houſe of Guiſe. His death had an effect, which neither Elizabeth nor ſome of the chief Scotch nobility had expected. The reformed intereſt in Scotland had Death of the French king.

A. D. 1560. been cemented, in a great meaſure, by the fears which they entertained of the French arms and influence. Theſe were now diminiſhed; their young queen might be prevailed on to liſten to the voice of reformation; and the general ſentiment of her people was, that ſhe ought to leave France, and take into her own hands the government of Scotland. The council, which acted as the executive power there, no ſooner received the certainty of her huſband's death, than they convoked a meeting of ſuch of the nobility, and the other ſtates, as lived near the metropolis. In this aſſembly, which was held the fifteenth of January, lord James was pitched upon to repair to the queen, and to perſuade her to return to her native dominions. That nobleman had now the greateſt credit with the reformed of any man in Scotland; and Mary's beſt friends in France had convinced her, that he ought, by all means, to be ſecured in her intereſt. As ſhe had a natural affection for his perſon, and a high opinion of his virtue, ſhe had ſeveral times expreſſed herſelf ſo favourably, with regard to him, that he was appointed for the purpoſes I have mentioned. Before he took his leave of his friends, Knox, and other violent preachers, charged him to give her majeſty no encouragement to hope for a toleration of the maſs, either public or private, within Scotland. His anſwer was, "That he would never conſent that ſhe ſhould have

1561.

The lord James and Leſley ſent to Mary.

have maſs publicly; but to have it ſecretly in her chamber, who could ſtop her?" Upon this the aſſembly was diſſolved; but it was agreed, that a new convention ſhould be held on the twentieth of May following. A. D. 1561.

While the Reformers were deep in their conſultations, ſome prelates and nobility, of a different complexion, had held an aſſembly to counterwork them. Their chiefs were the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, the biſhops of Aberdeen, Murray, and Roſs, with the earls of Huntley, Athol, Crawford, and Sutherland. Theſe made choice of the famous John Leſley, afterwards biſhop of Roſs, but then official of Aberdeen, to be their deputy, to give the queen true ideas of her own intereſt, and the ſtate of parties in Scotland. He was a forward man, with ſome ſhare of learning, zealous for whatever he undertook, but warm, and ſometimes imprudent, in his conduct. He was inſtructed, by his conſtituents, to prepoſſeſs Mary againſt the perſon of lord James, and all the connections of her Scotch ſubjects with the Engliſh. Both the deputies arrived at Mary's court almoſt at the ſame time. Leſley had the firſt audience. He endeavoured to give Mary the moſt unfavourable impreſſions of her brother, and his ambitious views. As he was the ſoul of the congregationiſts, and the Engliſh party in Scotland, who had given ſo much diſquiet to herſelf and her mother, Their ſeparate ſucceſs.

A. D. 1561. Leſley adviſed her to detain lord James in France, till ſhe herſelf ſhould arrive in Scotland, and ſettle all her affairs there to her own ſatisfaction. He cautioned her againſt her brother's plauſible inſinuating manners, and aſſured her, that whatever his religious pretexts might be, his real aim was to place the crown of Scotland upon his own head. If ſhe diſliked the expedient of putting him under any reſtriction, he then adviſed her to land at Aberdeen, where the doctrines of the congregationiſts had made but little progreſs, and where his conſtituents would, in a few days, put her at the head of twenty thouſand men, with whom ſhe might march to Edinburgh, and cruſh all oppoſition. Mary gave Leſley a favourable reception, and a fair hearing. She ordered him to remain about her perſon; but, in the mean while, to aſſure the prelates and noblemen who were his conſtituents, of her favour, and of her intention to return home. Before I proceed to relate the audience of the lord James, which he obtained of Mary in a day or two after, it is neceſſary that I ſhould review the ſituation of Mary at this time.

Character of Mary.

She had received all the accompliſhments of body and mind, that the moſt finiſhed education, at the moſt polite court in Europe, could beſtow. In converſation ſhe was lively; and in council more ſolid than could have been expected from ſo young a woman, ſurrounded with

with all the blandiſhments of power, and endued with greater charms of perſon, than, (if we are to believe the beſt relations) perhaps, any contemporary female poſſeſſed. Brantome, and other French memoir-writers of that court, who are unexceptionable evidences, have exhauſted all their powers of deſcription upon her perſonal accompliſhments; and their praiſes are confirmed by her bittereſt enemies. Her influence over her huſband was ſuch, as ſet aſide that of his artful, ambitious, mother Catharine of Medicis, and reſtored her uncles to greater credit than they had ever held before at the French council-board. Upon the death of her huſband, Catharine of Medicis aſſumed the direction of his brother, Charles the ninth, who was far from being inſenſible of Mary's beauties; but Catharine's plan was to oblige her to return to Scotland, that ſhe might, at once, deprive her uncles of ſo powerful a ſupport, and engroſs the whole management of affairs to herſelf. With thoſe views ſhe treated Mary with coldneſs, if not incivility; for which the latter had retired from court, and devoted her hours to melancholy, and the conſideration of her own ſituation. Monluc, the biſhop of Valence, D'Oyſſel, Randan, and other French noblemen and gentlemen, who had returned from Scotland after the treaty of Edinburgh, and were perfectly well inſtructed as to the ſtate of affairs there, had candidly informed

A.D. 1561.

Brantome.

A. D. 1561. informed Mary, and her uncles, of what great importance lord James was to her government, and that he was the only ſubject who could make the crown ſit eaſy upon her head. Mary and her uncles believed their report; but the latter imagined, that by gratifying her brother's ambition to the full, he might be detached from his connections with England; and it was therefore reſolved to refuſe him nothing he ſhould demand.

She gives an audience to lord James.

Mary was at St. Deziers when lord James had his firſt audience. He acquainted her, that the beſt courſe ſhe could purſue was to return to Scotland without any foreign forces, and to throw herſelf entirely upon the affection of her ſubjects there, who would faithfully obey her as one man, and that he himſelf would ſet them the example. Mary embraced this advice ſo cordially, that Leſley himſelf confeſſes, that in his next audience, he ſaw it had made an impreſſion upon her, and that ſhe was reſolved to follow it. When we impartially review the commiſſions of both deputies, it cannot be denied, that Leſley's was fraught with perfidy and deſpotiſm, becauſe it tended to break through the faith of treaties, promiſes, and every conſideration that cements ſociety, in order to give her arbitrary power, and the means of governing by the ſword. Leſley, notwithſtanding this, relates the affair with coolneſs and ſelf-applauſe, and only bewails

bewails Mary's not having followed his advice. A. D. 1561.

While lord James reſided in France, Noailles had been diſpatched to Scotland, from that court, to demand a renewal of the ancient league between the two crowns, a diſſolution of the treaty of Berwick, and that the popiſh eccleſiaſtics ſhould be replaced in their livings. Elizabeth renewed her aſſurances to her friends, the earls of Glencairn and Morton, and young Maitland (who had returned from England) in ſo ſtrong a manner, that the following homely, direct anſwer was returned to the three heads of his negotiation. Averſion of the Scotch to the French.

"Firſt, That France had not deſerved, at their hands, that either they or their poſterity ſhould enter with them again into any league or confederacy offenſive or defenſive; ſeeing that ſo traiterouſly and cruelly they had perſecuted them, their realm and liberties, under pretence of amity and marriage.

"Second, That beſides their conſcience, they could not take ſuch a worldly ſhame, as without offence committed to break the league, which, in God's name, they had made with them, (meaning the Engliſh) whom he hath made inſtruments to ſet Scotland at freedom, from the tyranny of the French, or at leaſt of the Guiſians, and their faction.

"Third, And laſtly, That ſuch as they called biſhops and churchmen, they knew neither for paſtors

A. D. 1561. paſtors of the church, neither yet for any juſt poſſeſſors of the patrimony thereof; but underſtood them perfectly to be wolves, thieves, murderers, and idle bellies: And therefore as Scotland hath forſaken their pope and papiſtry, ſo could they not be debtors to his foreſworn vaſſals."

Lord James returns to Scotland.

The earl of Bedford was then in France, as embaſſador from Elizabeth, with her condolance upon the late king's death; but, in reality, to ſecond Throgmorton in his endeavours to procure from Mary, a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. Both of them had orders to confer with lord James, who entered warmly into their views; but Mary declined giving any poſitive anſwer to their demand, till ſhe could take the ſenſe of her friends in France and Scotland. This trifling had been ſuggeſted to her by her uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain, who had perſuaded Mary to gratify her brother, by promiſing him the earldom of Murray as ſoon as ſhe ſhould return to Scotland, and to put all her affairs there under his direction. Notwithſtanding thoſe magnificent offers, the lord James continued firm in his engagements with Elizabeth, which gave her ever after a good opinion of his perſon, and ſteadineſs of conduct. If we are to believe Mr. Knox, the lord James was in danger of being aſſaſſinated at Paris, which is by no means unlikely, when we conſider the complexion of the Guiſes,

and

and the furious Roman catholics there, whom he had diſappointed in their applications. He ſtill kept up his intereſt, to all appearance, with Mary; and ſome time in May he arrived in Scotland through England. A. D. 1561.

He was received by his Scotch friends with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; and his ſucceſs with the queen equally diſmayed his adverſaries. The ſtates were ſitting when he returned; and he produced letters to them from Mary, enjoining that nothing ſhould be attempted either againſt the treaty of Edinburgh, or the eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion there, till ſhe ſhould arrive in her hereditary dominions. Elizabeth, about this time, had ordered a ſquadron of ſhips to cruize in the channel, on pretence of preventing a new deſcent upon Scotland by the French; and ſhe diſpatched Randolph, one of her ableſt agents, about the middle of March, to open a new negotiation with the Scotch lords, of the moſt important kind. He was ordered to preſs them to form a league, like that of the princes of Germany, for the defence of their religion; to break all connections with France, which might tend, as formerly, to embroil them with England, and to enter into a new and ſtricter confederacy with Elizabeth; but, above all, he was to procure an aſſociation for preventing their queen's marrying a foreigner, and to oblige her to provide effectually for the future

Mary in danger of being intercepted.

A. D. 1561. ſecurity of their liberties. It muſt be confeſſed, that thoſe inſtructions were far from being decent towards a ſovereign princeſs; and Mary, who had been bred with high notions of her own dignity, reſented them. She had friends in Scotland who had informed her of all that Randolph was charged with; and in the next audience ſhe gave to Throgmorton, ſhe talked to him in a very peremptory ſtile. She hinted, that ſhe knew of Elizabeth's practices with her rebellious ſubjects; and declared, ſhe was reſolved not to take the law from them, eſpecially as to matters of religion, in which ſhe was reſolved not to be conſtrained. Throgmorton preſſed her to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, which he ſaid did not require any conſultation with, or advice from, her Scotch nobility, becauſe they had concluded it. Mary demurred to that; and intimated, that the treaty in queſtion had neither been made nor approved of by all her nobility.

Burleigh's Papers.

Letter from Throgmorton to Elizabeth, June 23.

Throgmorton gave Elizabeth a faithful account of this converſation; and, likewiſe, that Mary had demanded a ſafe-conduct for herſelf, and the ſhips that were to attend her, from Elizabeth, with whom ſhe was willing to live upon good terms; and, as an earneſt of her friendſhip, that ſhe would ſend all the French out of Scotland. Elizabeth, who had truſted to the firmneſs of the Scotch nobility, diſliked this language of independency in Mary, and ſuſpected

Negotiations of Throgmorton.

pected that ſhe had been encouraged to it by ſome of the parties in the treaty of Berwick. Her ſuſpicions were juſt: for Grange, Balnaves, and even the younger Ledington, tho' zealous reformers, diſliked the direction which Elizabeth had aſſumed in the affairs of Scotland, which made her addreſs a letter to the ſtates there in an expoſtulatory manner, which, with the anſwer to it, the reader will find in the notes *. Their anſwer was ſuch, as be- A.D. 1561. Knox.

* Right truſty, and right entirely beloved couſins, we greet you: We doubt not but as our meaning is, and hath always been, ſince our reign, in the ſight of Almighty God, ſtraight and direct towards the advancement of his honour, and truth in religion, and conſequently to procure peace, and maintain concord betwixt both theſe realms of England and Scotland; ſo alſo our outward acts have well-declared the ſame to the world, and eſpecially to you, being our neighbours, who have taſted and proved in theſe, our friendſhip and earneſt good-will, more than, we think, any of your anceſtors have ever received from hence, yea more than a great number of yourſelves could well have hoped for of us; all former examples being well weighed and conſidered. And this we have to rejoice of, and ſo may ye be glad, that where in the beginning of the troubles in that countrey, and of our ſuccours meant for you, the jealouſie, or rather malice of divers both in that realm, and other countreys, was ſuch, both to deprive us in the yielding, and you in requiring our ayd, that we were noted to have meant the ſurpriſe of that realm, by depriving of your ſovereign, the queen, of her crown; and you, or the greateſt part of you, to have intended by our ſuccour, the like; and either to prefer ſome other to the crown, or elſe to make of that monarchie a commonweale; matters very ſlanderous and falſe. But the end and determination, yea the whole courſe and proceſs of the action, on both our parts, have manifeſted, both to the ſlanderers, and to all others, that nothing was more meant and proſecuted, than to eſtabliſh your ſovereign the queen, our couſin and ſiſter, in her ſtate and crown, the poſſeſſion whereof was in the hands of ſtrangers. And although no words could then well ſatisfie the malicious, yet our deeds do declare, that no other thing was

A. D. 1561. came freemen, and men of honour; but ſome of her former friends among the Scots, treated

ſought, but the reſtitution of that realm to the ancient libertie, and, as it were, to redeem it from captivitie. Of theſe our purpoſes and deeds there remaineth, among other arguments, good teſtimony, by a ſolemn treaty and accord made the laſt year at Edinburgh, by commiſſioners ſent from us, and from your queen, with full authority in writing, under both our hands, and the great ſeal of both our realms, in ſuch a manner as other princes, our progenitors, have always uſed. By which treaty and accord, either of us have faithfully accorded with each other, to keep peace and amity betwixt ourſelves, our countrey, and ſubjects: And in the ſame, alſo, a good accord is made, not only of certain things happened betwixt us, but alſo of ſome differences betwixt the miniſters of the late French king, your ſovereign's huſband, and you the ſtates of that realm, for the alteration of laws and cuſtoms of that countrey, attempted by them. Upon which accord there made and concluded, hath hitherto followed, as you know, ſurety to your ſovereign's ſtate, quietneſs to yourſelves, and a better peace betwixt both realms, than ever was heard of in any time paſt. Nevertheleſs, how it happeneth we know not, (we can, for ſhe, in her conceit, thinketh herſelf queen of both) that your ſovereign either not knowing in this part her own felicity, or elſe dangerouſly ſeduced by perverſe council, whereof we are moſt ſorry; being of late, at ſundry times, required by us, according to her bond with us, ſigned with her own hand, and ſealed with the great ſeal of that realm, and allowed by you, being the ſtates of the ſame, to ratifie the ſaid treaty, in like manner, as we by writing have done, and are ready to deliver it to her, who maketh ſuch dictatory anſwers thereunto, as what we ſhall judge thereof, we perceive by her anſwer, it is meet for us to require of you: For although ſhe hath always anſwered, ſince the death of her huſband, that in this matter ſhe would firſt underſtand the minds of certain of you, before that ſhe would make anſwer; and ſo having now of long time ſuſpended our expectation, in the end, notwithſtanding that ſhe hath had conference both by meſſengers, and by ſome of yourſelves being with her, yet ſhe ſtill delayed it, alledging to our embaſſadour in France, (who ſaid, that this treaty was made by your conſent) it was not by conſent of you all; and ſo would have us to forbear, untill ſhe ſhall return into that her country. And now ſeeing this her anſwer depended, as it ſhould ſeem by her words, upon your opinions, we cannot but plainly

Cecil and her miniſters with very little ceremony; and even reproached them for having A. D. 1561.

plainly let you all underſtand, that this manner of anſwer, without ſome more fruit, cannot long content us. We have meant well to our ſiſter, your queen, in time of offence, given to us by her. We did plainly, without diſſimulation, charge her in her own doubtfull ſtate; while ſtrangers poſſeſſed her realm, we ſtayed it from danger. And now having promiſed to keep good peace with her, and with you her ſubjects, we have obſerved it; and ſhall be ſorry, if either ſhe or ye ſhall give us contrary cauſe. In a matter ſo profitable to both the realms, we think it ſtrange that your queen hath no better advice: And therefore we do require you all, being the ſtates of that realm, upon whom the burden reſteth, to conſider this matter deeply, and to make us anſwer whereunto we may truſt. And if you ſhall think meet ſhe ſhall thus leave the peace imperfect, by breaking of her ſolemn promiſe, contrary to the order of all princes, we ſhall be well content to accept your anſwer, and ſhall be as careleſs to ſee the peace kept, as ye ſhall give us cauſe: And doubt not, by the grace of God, but whoſoever of you ſhall incline thereto, ſhall ſooneſt repent. You muſt be content with our plain writing. And on the other ſide, if you continue all in one mind, to have the peace inviolably kept, and ſhall ſo, by your advice, procure the queen to ratifie it, we alſo plainly promiſe you, that we will alſo continue our good diſpoſition to keep the ſame in ſuch good terms as now it is: And in ſo doing, the honour of Almighty God ſhall be duely ſought and promoted in both realmes; the queen, your ſovereign, ſhall enjoy her ſtate, with your ſurety; and yourſelves poſſeſs that which ye have, with tranquillity; to the increaſe of your families and poſterity, which, by the frequent wars heretofore, your anceſtors never had long in one ſtate. To conclude, we require you to advertiſe us of what mind you be, eſpecially if you all continue in that mind, that you mean to have the peace betwixt both the realmes perpetually kept. And if you ſhall forbear any longer to advertiſe us, ye ſhall give us ſome occaſion of doubt, whereof more hurt may grow than good. From, &c.

The Anſwer to the foregoing Letter, by the Council or Junto.

Madame,

Pleaſe your majeſtie, that with judgement we have conſidered your majeſtie's letters: And albeit the whole ſtates could not ſuddainlie be aſſembled, yet we thought expedient to ſignifie ſomewhat

A. D. 1561. given their miſtreſs bad impreſſions of their good faith, without being able to prove any thing to their diſadvantage. In ſhort, matters were ſo circumſtanced at this time, that it was thought hoſtilities would have enſued between the two nations; but ſaid young Maitland, in a letter he wrote to Cecil, "I ſee, as yet, no ſhrinking; and if queen Elizabeth will go through with us, we will be bold enough." Buchanan pretends, that Elizabeth, at this time, had kindly invited Mary to take her journey through England, and even ſaid, that ſhe would be diſpleaſed, if ſhe ſhould refuſe the

Dated Auguſt 9.

ſomewhat of our mindes unto your majeſtie. Far be it from us, that either we take upon us that infamy before the world, or grudge of conſcience before our God, that we ſhould lightly eſteem the obſervation of the peace lately contracted betwixt theſe two realmes. By what motives our ſoveraign delayed the ratification thereof, we cannot tell. But of us (of us, we ſay, madame, that have proteſted fidelity in our promiſe) her majeſtie had none. Your majeſtie cannot be ignorant, that in this realme there are many enemies; and farther, that our ſoveraign hath counſellors, whoſe judgements ſhe in all ſuch cauſes preferred to ours. Our obedience bindeth us, not only reverently to ſpeak and write of our ſoveraign, but alſo to judge and think: And yet your majeſtie may be well aſſured, that in us ſhall be noted no blame, if that peace be not ratified to your majeſtie's contentment. For God is witneſs, that our chief care in this earth, next the glory of God, is, that conſtant peace may remain betwixt theſe two realmes, whereof your majeſtie and realme ſhall have ſure experience, ſo long as our counſel or votes may ſtop the contrarie. The benefite that we have received is ſo recent, that we cannot ſuddainlie bury it in forgetfulneſs. We would deſire your majeſtie rather to be perſuaded of us, that we to our powers will ſtudy to leave it in remembrance to our poſterity. And thus with lawfull and humble commendation of our ſervice, we commit your majeſtie to the protection of the Omnipotent. Of Edinburgh, the ſixteenth day of July, 1561.

invitation.

invitation. That poſſibly might be the caſe, upon D'Oyſſel's firſt application to her for a ſafe-conduct; but it is very certain, from Throgmorton's letters, and other ſtate-papers, that, upon Mary's refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, ſhe flatly refuſed, even in a public audience, to grant D'Oyſſel's requeſt. Mary complained of this affront to Throgmorton, at his next audience, in pathetic expoſtulatory terms; and we cannot read his account of their converſation, without admiring the ſolidity and delicacy of her ſentiments. She ſeems, notwithſtanding, ſtill to have had a ſtrong reſentment of Elizabeth's connections with her rebellious ſubjects (as ſhe called them); and there is no denying, that ſhe ſecretly conſidered all the treaty of Edinburgh, and the other pacifications between her and them, as ſo many acts of rebellion, and conſequently as not binding her either in honour or conſcience. Throgmorton complained of this to the queen-mother of France, who had her reaſons for juſtifying her daughter-in-law; and it was ſoon publicly known, that Mary was determined to run all chances without any ſafe-conduct. When Throgmorton, in his next audience, talked to her on that ſubject, ſhe dropt the following expreſſions, which are remarkably prophetic of her future fate: "If my preparations (ſaid ſhe) were not ſo much advanced as they are, peradventure the queen your

A. D. 1561.

Letter from Throgmorton to Elizabeth, July 26.

A.D. 1561. your miſtreſs's unkindneſs might ſtay my voyage; but now I am determined to adventure the matter, whatſoever come of it. I truſt the wind will be ſo favourable, as I ſhall not need to come on the coaſt of England; and if I do, then, monſieur l'ambaſſadeur, the queen your miſtreſs ſhall have me in her hands, to do her will of me; and if ſhe be ſo hard-hearted as to deſire my end, ſhe may then do her pleaſure, and make her ſacrifice of me: Peradventure that caſually might be better for me than to live; in this matter God's will be fulfilled."

Duplicity of Mary.

From the complection of the conferences between Mary and Throgmorton, ſhe cannot be acquitted of duplicity, and of her having a reſerved view, which was that of her right to the crown of England, in her refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Elizabeth was perfectly ſenſible of this, and reſented it in a manner not very common among ſovereigns; for ſhe refuſed to ſuffer D'Oyſſel to repair to Scotland, where he was to have ſecured the iſle of Inchkeith, and the caſtle of Dunbar, which were ſtill poſſeſſed by French troops, till the arrival of Mary in her own dominions. D'Oyſſel having returned to France, Mary had a final conference with Throgmorton, in which ſhe endeavoured to prove, with great addreſs, that the principal parts of the treaty of Edinburgh had been complied with; and ſhe ſhifted off the blame of not ratifying the ſixth article, by pretending

tending that ſhe had, ever ſince her huſband's death, quitted the arms and title of England. A.D. 1560. "To raze (ſaid ſhe to Throgmorton) and ſtrike them out of all the moveables, buildings, and charters in France, is a thing no way in my power: And it is more than I can do, to ſend back the biſhops of Valence and Randan, who are no ſubjects of mine, into England, to appear at a conference about the ſixth article. As for the laſt article, I hope my rebel ſubjects will not complain of any great ſeverity towards them. But ſhe, I perceive, deſigns to prevent any proofs I might ſhow of a merciful diſpoſition towards them, by reſolving to hinder my return. What is there now behind in this treaty, that can any way prejudice the affairs of your miſtreſs? Nevertheleſs, to give her the fulleſt ſatisfaction I can, I deſign to write to her about theſe matters with my own hand, though ſhe would not vouchſafe me an anſwer, but by her ſecretary. But I would adviſe you, who are an ambaſſador, to act ſuitably to that character; I mean, rather to qualify and compoſe matters, than to aggravate and make them worſe."

Her partiality for France.

It is a matter of ſome uncertainty, whether Elizabeth did actually give orders for her fleet to intercept Mary in her paſſage from France to Scotland. An Engliſh ſquadron cruized undoubtedly in the mouth of the Frith under Winter; but Elizabeth's deep policy, (for ſhe generally

A. D. 1561. had an oſtenſible, and a non-oſtenſible reaſon for every thing ſhe did) pretended, that Winter was in ſearch of certain pirates, who had interrupted the Engliſh navigation. Mary left Paris on the twenty-firſt of July, attended by the French king, and queen-mother, the duke of Anjou, (afterwards Henry the third) the king of Navarre, and the flower of the French nobility, who accompanied her to St. Germains. Nothing could be more ſplendid than her expectations at this time. She had been not only deluded into the fatal opinion of her being the true heireſs of the crown of England; but (as appears from Throgmorton's diſpatches) that her claim was favoured by a ſtrong party of the Engliſh themſelves. Tho' the queen-dowager of France beheld her with an evil eye, yet her enmity ceaſed when ſhe left France; and all the unmarried princes in Europe were then preparing to pay her their addreſſes. She took leave of the royal family of France at St. Germains; but ſhe was eſcorted by her ſix uncles, the duke of Guiſe, the cardinals of Lorrain and Guiſe, the duke D'Aumale, the marquis D'Elbeuf, the grand prior, who was admiral of the French gallies, and other great noblemen, to Calais. Two gallies, which had been deſtined for the relief of Leith, were there waiting for her; and ſhe embarked on board one of them about the fifteenth of Auguſt, being attended by two other tranſports.

She

She then looked upon France as her native country; and as it had been the ſcene of her grandeur and pleaſures, it is not ſurprizing that ſhe left it with the moſt violent emotions, which were, perhaps, heightened by certain preſentiments of what afterwards befel her. After ſhe was embarked, ſhe ordered the couch, on which ſhe was to ſleep, to be ſpread upon the deck, and inceſſantly fixed her eyes on the French coaſt, till the view was interrupted by darkneſs. The ſight was ſo pleaſing to her ideas, that ſhe ordered the pilot to awaken her next morning, if France was ſtill in view of the ſhip, which happened to be the caſe; and ſhe took her leave of that beloved coaſt, with the words "Farewel France! Farewel France! I ſhall never ſee you more!" According to Leſley and Brantome, who were both in the ſame ſhip with Mary, the weather proved, at once, both favourable and foggy; and ſhe landed at Leith on the twentieth of Auguſt. It is remarkable, however, that one of the ſhips that attended her (having the earl of Eglington on board) was taken by the Engliſh ſquadron, but ſoon after ſet at liberty. This, with ſome colour of reaſon, was conſidered as a preſumption, that the Engliſh ſhips lay in wait for Mary's perſon. A. D. 1561.

When ſhe arrived in Scotland, ſhe was attended by her three uncles, the duke D'Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis D'Elbeuf, Her arrival in Scotland,

A D. 1561. beuf, beſides the marſhal D'Anville, ſon and heir to the great conſtable Montmorenci, and other principal perſonages of the French court. Her equipages and furniture were elegant, coſtly, and becoming her high ſtation; and the fine taſte ſhe had acquired in painting, muſic, poetry, and all the liberal arts, bade fair to introduce leſs ferocious and more ſoftened modes of living into that country. Her appearance and attractions were ſo captivating, that the ſmalleſt traces of oppoſition to her or her family, were not diſcernible among her ſubjects, who vied with each other in their demonſtrations of loyalty. She was moſt reſpectfully attended by the earls of Huntley, Athol, Crawford, Mariſchal, Rothes, with other noblemen and barons of diſtinction. After repoſing for ſome time at Leith, ſhe was carried to the abbey of Holyrood-houſe; but ſhe ſeemed ſhocked at the rude manners and mean appearance of her people. This, however, may be eaſily accounted for, by obſerving, that the place where ſhe landed, and that where ſhe took up her reſidence, had been, for ſome years, ſcenes of the moſt barbarous devaſtations, by domeſtic and foreign enemies. The great men into whoſe hands the government had fallen, had no other ſtudy but how to ſecure themſelves in poſſeſſion of the eſtates they had acquired from the ſpoils, either of the crown or the church. Every nobleman's houſe-

hold

hold and following were the ſole object of his attention. All his care was to render his tenants and vaſſals poor, that they might be dependent; and his courage was exerted only in barbarouſly gratifying private animoſities and quarrels with his neighbours. Thus, at the time of Mary's arrival in Scotland, it ſeemed to be parcelled out into a number of independent, ſmall, ſtates, whoſe heads were deſpotic princes, having little connection with each other, and no dependence upon the crown. A.D. 1561.

The middling ranks of people were ſenſible of their own unhappineſs; and hoped to find in the authority of their ſovereign, a remedy for all their grievances. Her court was crowded by a numerous reſort from all quarters of the kingdom; and ſhe ſaw, with pleaſure, the affectionate, though, perhaps, rude, manner in which they endeavoured to teſtify their joy, and that they were ſuſceptible of much greater improvements in the arts of civil life. Her firſt miniſter, at this time, was the lord James; a proof that ſhe was reſolved, if poſſible, to keep fair with the congregationiſts. Whatever private views of ambition he might have entertained at that period, he certainly kept firm to the intereſts of the Reformation, and his engagements with Elizabeth. Both he and Ledington, however, knew that thoſe engagements were highly diſpleaſing to Mary's uncles and friends; and they thought that ſhe only ſought

where ſhe is affectionately received.

A. D. 1561. ſought for a favourable opportunity of dividing them from their party, and then bringing them to an account for their former conduct. There is reaſon to believe, that Maitland, ſoon after Mary's arrival, privately reconciled himſelf to her views, in a manner that was conſiſtent with his verſatile character; but I am inclined to think, that lord James remained ſtill unſhaken in his former profeſſions.

She is required to ratify the treaty of Leith.

Randolph was then reſident, or agent, for Elizabeth's affairs in Scotland; but upon Mary's return thither, he received the character of embaſſador, with orders to inſiſt upon Mary ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh. He, at the ſame time, was inſtructed to deny, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that his miſtreſs had ever intended to intercept Mary in her paſſage to Scotland; and Elizabeth ſignified the ſame thing in her letters to Mary. To give the better colour to this apology, Randolph was charged to complain of certain Scotch pirates, who, under letters of marque, which had been granted them againſt the Portugueſe, had robbed a number of his catholic majeſty's, and other ſhips in the open ſeas; and requiring, that, if found in Scotland, they ſhould be delivered up to public juſtice. It does not appear, that at Randolph's firſt audience, mention was made of any affair, but that of the pirates. Mary gave Randolph a favourable and polite reception; but diſliked his reſiding

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in Scotland, as embaſſador from Elizabeth. A.D. 1561
She threw out to lord James ſome intimations of his former tampering with her ſubjects; "But (ſaid ſhe) I will have another there as crafty as he," meaning young Maitland of Ledington. That gentleman was then ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland; and received his inſtructions both from Mary and her nobility, as embaſſador to Elizabeth. This appointment is, in my opinion, a full proof, that Mary thought Maitland and his friends were then detached from their connections with Elizabeth; and, indeed, her compliances with the Reformers were ſuch, in matters of religion, as might well encourage her in that belief. She did not heſitate a moment in giving Elizabeth all the ſatisfaction ſhe had required, concerning the pirates. She affected to careſs Randolph, when he appeared at her court; but above all, ſhe indulged the proteſtants in the full enjoyment of their religion, being contented with reſerving to herſelf the private exerciſe of the maſs in her own apartments; and ſhe even made it capital to attempt any innovation in favour of the old religion.

Penetration of Knox.

All the ſtate-papers and letters of that time, many of which never were intended for publication, concur in ſaying, that Knox ſtill ſuſpected Mary to be inſincere in what ſhe had granted to the proteſtants; and we learn from himſelf, that he highly condemned even the lord

A.D. 1561. lord James, for his conſenting that ſhe might have the exerciſe of the maſs in her apartments. That nobleman had ſtill ſtuck by the declaration he made, when he was ſent from his party to France, that he never would conſent that the queen ſhould be indulged in having the maſs publicly celebrated; but he thought his honour engaged in protecting her in its private exerciſe. His two brothers, the lord John prior of Coldingham, and the lord Robert abbot of Holy-rood houſe, who had likewiſe declared themſelves proteſtants, agreed in opinion with lord James; and even guarded the door of the royal chapel to preſerve the prieſt from inſult, while he was performing his office. This moderation, or defection, as it was called, in the queen's three baſtard brothers, gave great offence to Knox and his party; and the earl of Arran entered a very warm, and indeed enthuſiaſtical, proteſtation againſt the indulgence that had been ſhewn to the queen.

A privy-council appointed.

On the ſixth of September, the queen appointed a privy-council, conſiſting of the duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Arran, Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, Errol, Mariſchal, Athol, Morton, Montroſe and Glencairn; the lord James, and the lord Erſkine, with the treaſurer, ſecretary of ſtate, clerk of regiſter, and juſtice clerk. We are told with great appearance of truth, that this liſt of privy-counſellors had been dictated

tated by the lord James; and the members appointed, were ſo nearly connected with him and his party, that ſeveral people, according to Leſley, thought that he had formed a deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of the crown. Thus much may be truly ſaid, that ſome perſons in the liſt could not be ſuppoſed very agreeable to Mary. The duke of Chatleheraut was ſo far from coming to court, that he was buſy, to Mary's great diſquiet, in fortifying his caſtle of Dumbarton; and his ſon the earl of Arran had, as we have ſeen, declared open war againſt the maſs; and ſaid, that he would not come near a court where it was celebrated. A. D. 1561.

Negotiation of Maitland.

The inſtructions of Maitland were fraught with general profeſſions of friendſhip and reſpect for that princeſs; but theſe could not amuſe Elizabeth and her miniſters, eſpecially Cecil, who ſtill kept up his correſpondence with Knox. They demanded the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; but Mary, by this time, had been told, that the Engliſh council had declared it, under their hands, to be their opinion, that ſhe was not the next heir to the crown of England, after Elizabeth's deceaſe. It does not appear, whether this intelligence was not an invention of Mary's ſecret enemies, to embroil her with Elizabeth; but it is certain, that no mention is made of it in Ledington's inſtructions, though it is more than probable, that he had received private direc-

A. D. 1561. tions from Mary on that head. Buchanan gives a particular, and Camden a more general, relation of what paſſed on this head, between Elizabeth and the Scotch embaſſador, both which do not differ much from the ſtate-papers, and the relations of other hiſtorians. Upon Elizabeth's demanding the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, Maitland required, that commiſſioners might be appointed to review it. He propoſed, that his miſtreſs, the queen of Scotland, ſhould not uſe the titles or arms of England, while Elizabeth, or any iſſue from her, was alive; but, at the ſame time, that Elizabeth ſhould bind herſelf, and her poſterity, to do nothing in prejudice of Mary's ſucceſſion to the crown of England. This was touching Elizabeth upon ſo tender a point, that ſhe never would ſuffer it to be diſcuſſed by her moſt favourite miniſters and counſellors. She could not conceal her diſpleaſure and indignation at its being propoſed by a foreign embaſſador. At laſt, ſhe inſiſted upon Mary's ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, previous to all other conſiderations; and that it was an unprecedented thing for any prince to declare his, or her, ſucceſſor in their own life-time. Maitland endeavoured to ſhew, that the caſe of his miſtreſs differed from any other of the ſame kind, on account of the injuries that had been done to her family's ſucceſſion, by former kings and parliaments of England; and in

prejudice

prejudice of the marriage contract between James the fourth, and Margaret, daughter to Henry the ſeventh. With regard to the ratification demanded by Elizabeth, he repreſented her inexperience in the affairs of her kingdom; the perpetual hurry ſhe had been engaged in, ever ſince her arrival in Scotland; and her having, at the time of his departure from thence, not fixed a privy-council, whom ſhe was to conſult in the management of her affairs. A. D. 1562.

It muſt be candidly admitted, that if Elizabeth had her objections to the conduct of Mary, for delaying her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and aſſuming the arms of England, thoſe of Mary were equally ſtrong, for no longer ſuffering her ſucceſſion to be precarious, and to remain in the breaſt of Elizabeth, and her parliament. Elizabeth, at laſt, ſeemed to make ſome allowances for the arguments advanced by Maitland; and nominated Sir Peter Meutas to repair to Scotland, to demand the ratification, or Mary's reaſons for refuſing it, which ſhe might communicate either to her embaſſador, Randolph, in converſation, or to herſelf by writing. Mary choſe the latter courſe; and ſome idea of her ſtile and manner may be formed from the following paſſage of her letter to Elizabeth, on this occaſion: "We ſhall not, ſays ſhe, touch now at what time the treaty was paſſed, by whoſe command- Difficulties attending it.

A. D. 1561 ment, what miniſters, how they were authorized, nor particularly examine the ſufficiency of their commiſſion, though the moſt ſlender of theſe heads deſerve conſideration. How prejudicial that treaty is to the title and intereſt which may fall to us by birth and natural deſcent of your own lineage, may be eaſily perceived by inſpection of the treaty itſelf; and how ſlenderly a matter of ſo great conſequence is wrapt up in obſcure terms." Upon the whole, Mary did not directly refuſe the ratification required of her; and expreſſed herſelf, on all occaſions, as being ſtrongly inclined to have a perſonal interview with Elizabeth; a propoſal that was far from being agreeable to Knox and his party, whoſe motions I am now to attend.

Keith, p. 213.

Mary queſtions Knox.

The indecent proteſtation made by the earl of Arran, which I have mentioned, contained the real ſentiments of that preacher; and it is amazing with what ſpirit and intrepidity he reſiſted the importunities of the moſt popular heads of his party, that he would moderate his zeal, at leaſt, while the queen continued to give no public offence by the public profeſſion of her religion. On the laſt of Auguſt, he preached a ſermon, with more acrimony than ever, againſt popery, which he called idolatry, declaring that one maſs (and only one had been then celebrated in the queen's chapel) was more frightful to him, than if ten thouſand armed

armed enemies were landed in any part of the kingdom. The heads of his own party were offended at this intemperate declaration, and talked to him in pretty free terms concerning its abſurdity; but to no purpoſe. Mary was not ignorant of this incident, and ordered Knox to attend her, which he accordingly did; and he himſelf, in his Hiſtory, has left a detail of the converſation. Randolph mentions it in one of his diſpatches to Cecil, and ſays, "he knocked ſo haſtily upon her heart, that he made her to weep, as well you know there be ſome of that ſex that will do that as well for anger as for grief." The converſation, in ſhort, ended very little to the ſatisfaction of either party. Mary taxed him with his furious invectives againſt all who differed with him in opinion; with the intemperate language he made uſe of in his ſermons; and with the doctrine of his book againſt the government of women. The apology that Knox offered for his conduct, conſiſted in railing againſt the idolatry of the maſs, and in profeſſing, that he would give to her ſuch reverence as becometh the miniſters of God unto the ſuperior powers. A.D. 1561.

Zeal of the Reformers.

The ſermons of Knox had ſuch an effect, as once more to threaten the public tranquillity. An attempt was made by ſome of the zealous Reformers to deſtroy the papers and furniture of the queen's chapel, where the prieſt was preparing

A. D. 1561. preparing to celebrate maſs, on the firſt of November. This daring inſult was reſented by the lord James, and the earl of Huntley, but in a very different manner. The former had, by his perſonal authority, quieted the tumult; but Huntley was for ſanguinary meaſures, and offered to the queen's uncles, if ſhe would give him permiſſion, to re-eſtabliſh the maſs, by force, in all the northern counties. Mary, adhering ſtill to her moderate conduct, rejected Huntley's propoſal; and ſhe, undoubtedly, about this time, as will appear plainly in the ſequel, had adopted the ſcheme ſuggeſted by Henry the eighth to her father, I mean that of ſeizing all the abbey-lands. She was encouraged in this, by the great reſpect and affection that all her ſubjects, excepting Knox and his followers, expreſſed for her, on their being diſcountenanced by the other heads of the congregation. Several of them, though they had been always deemed ſtaunch Reformers, began to queſtion the favourite maxim of Knox, that ſubjects might attempt to ſuppreſs the idolatry of the prince.

Mary's public entry into Edinburgh,

When Mary made her public entry into Edinburgh, ſhe was received with all the honours, coſt, and expence, which that metropolis could afford; but in the pageants preſented to her, according to the cuſtom of the time, the moſt provoking liberties were taken, to inſpire her with a horror for the Roman catholic

catholic religion. A mock altar was erected for performing the ceremonies of the maſs; and upon it were burnt Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. A prieſt would have made up the quadrumvirate, had not the exhibition been prevented by the earl of Huntley. A.D. 1561.

Maitland was now returned to Scotland, which the duke D'Aumale and other French nobility had left; the marquis D'Elbeuf, who affected an indifference as to matters of religion, alone remaining with Mary. About the time of their departure, ſhe had come to a reſolution to make a progreſs through the towns of Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and St. Andrew's. She was received at all of them, as ſhe had been at Edinburgh, with great affection for her perſon; but the ſtrongeſt marks of deteſtation for her religion. Upon her return, ſhe diſplaced ſome of the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, on account of their having included prieſts and nuns in a proclamation for removing whoremongers and adulterers out of that town. This is ſome proof, that Mary ſtill retained a conſiderable temporal authority in her kingdom. All this time, Mary continued to careſs Randolph, and applied herſelf, with great earneſtneſs, to remove the diſorders of the borders, that ſhe might come to a perfect agreement with Elizabeth. The character of Mary, and her two chief miniſters, at this time, is thus deſcribed by Randolph, whom we cannot ſuſpect

where ſhe diſplaces the magiſtrates.

A.D. 1561. pect of partiality in her favour. "I receive of her grace, at all times, very good words. I am born in hand by ſuch as are neareſt about her, as the lord James, and the lord of Ledington, that they are meant as they are ſpoken: I ſee them above all others in credit, and find in them no alteration, though there be that complain, that they yield too much unto her appetite; which yet I ſee not. The lord James dealeth according to his nature, rudely, homely, and bluntly; the lord of Ledington more delicately and finely, yet nothing ſwerveth from the other in mind and effect. She is patient to hear, and beareth much."

From the ſame diſpatch we learn ſome farther particulars, that the duke of Chatleheraut was ſhy of coming to court; that he was ſo immeaſurably covetous, that he did not allow his ſon money to make a decent appearance according to his rank. This young nobleman's character was ſingular. Having been ſucceſſively flattered with the hopes of marrying two ſovereign princeſſes, the queens of England and Scotland, he conceived ſuch a love for the latter, as contributed to bring on that inſanity in which he ended his days. In the moſt violent ſtages of his paſſion, however, his zeal for religion impelled him to commit ſuch acts of extravagance, as rendered him the moſt diſagreeable object to his royal miſtreſs of any in her dominions. It appears as if, at this time,

Mary

Mary had thought ſhe was in a condition to give ſome encouragement to her Roman catholic ſubjects. She had committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh Archibald Douglas, provoſt of that town, on account of the proclamation we have already mentioned; and had iſſued a proclamation, granting liberty to all good and faithful ſubjects to repair and remain within the burgh at their pleaſure, for doing their lawful and ordinary buſineſs. The zealous Reformers conſidered this proclamation as inviting Roman catholics to repair to court. The queen's maſſes were celebrated with greater pomp than formerly; and the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's made a triumphal entry, attended by eighty horſe, into Edinburgh, and a proceſſion through its High-Street. The earl of Huntley, who had been created chancellor, now profeſſed himſelf a violent Roman catholic; and even the ſeverity of lord James was ſo far relaxed, that he had ſuffered his marriage with the earl of Mariſchal's daughter, to be celebrated by a maſquerade. Knox, as uſual, declaimed with the greateſt aſperity of language againſt thoſe luxuries, and (ſays Randolph, in the diſpatch I have mentioned) "his ſeverity keepeth us in marvellous order. I commend better the ſucceſs of his doings and preachings than the manner thereof, though I acknowledge his doctrine to be ſound: His prayer is daily for her, That God will turn her obſtinate A.D. 1561.

A. D. 1561. heart againſt God and his truth; or if the holy will be otherwiſe, to ſtrengthen the hearts and hands of his choſen and elect, ſtoutly to withſtand the rage of all tyrants, in words terrible enough."

Affairs of the borders

Burleigh's Papers, p. 381.

The affairs of England, and the reduction of the borders to a ſtate of tranquillity, next claimed Mary's attention. Elizabeth had made ſome ineffectual efforts for proving a pre-contract between the earl of Angus and a lady Traquair, which might have affected the lawfulneſs of the marriage between that earl and the daughter of Henry the ſeventh. Elizabeth was ſoon convinced of the abſurdity, as well as injuſtice, of this attempt; and to make ſome atonement, ſhe had been laviſh of the honours and compliments ſhe beſtowed on ſuch of the French nobility as had accompanied Mary to Scotland, and choſe to return home by the way of England. Mary expreſſed great ſatisfaction at this, and talked to Randolph in the moſt friendly manner. When ſhe was preſſed by her uncles to marry the duke de Nemours, or any other prince upon the continent, ſhe declared, in public, that ſhe would have no huſband but her ſiſter of England; facetiouſly adding, that if one of the two queens had been a man, it would have been eaſy to have terminated, for ever, all differences between the two kingdoms.

To

To prove the ſincerity of thoſe profeſſions, Mary intimated ſeveral times to Randolph, that ſhe was reſolved to give Elizabeth all ſatisfaction with regard to the diſorders committed on the frontiers by the Scotch borderers; and that ſhe had appointed the lord Hume for that purpoſe, till her brother, the lord James, could be furniſhed with a force ſufficient to ſubdue them effectually. In the mean while, ſhe begged that none of her diſorderly ſubjects ſhould find refuge in England. It was accordingly reſolved, in Mary's council, that a grand juſtice-court ſhould be held in Jedburgh, and another in Dumfries; and that letters ſhould be iſſued, charging all the earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, landed men, and free-holders, within the bounds of Edinburgh principally, and within the conſtabulary of Hadington, Linlithgow, Stirling, Clacmannan, Kinroſs, Fife, Berwick, Peebles, Selkirk and Roxburgh, that they, with their ſubſtantial houſholds, "weill bodin in feir of weir, (well furniſhed for war) in their moſt ſubſtantial manner, meet James, commendator of St. Andrew's, and Pittenweem, lieutenant, at Lauder, the thirteenth day of November next to come, and paſs forward with him to Jedburgh." Other orders were paſſed at the ſame time, and for the ſame purpoſe; and nothing was omitted that could contribute to the grandeur and ſafety of lord James, and that he might

A. D. 1561. managed by lord James

October 13.

A. D. 1561. appear with a force and ſplendor equal to royalty itſelf. I have been the more particular as to this tranſaction, becauſe both Buchanan and Knox, who lived at the time, and upon the ſpot, have repreſented the giving him the command in this expedition, as intended not to do him honour, but to expoſe him to danger. It is remarkable, likewiſe, that he was one of the four privy-counſellors who were preſent when the order paſſed, the other three being the earls of Huntley, Mariſchal, and Bothwell.

with ſucceſs. The lord James performed his commiſſion with great efficacy; but I think with greater honour to his juſtice than his courage. He hanged twenty-eight of the moſt notorious delinquents; he ſent many of them priſoners to Edinburgh, and obliged others to give ſecurity for their good behaviour. This ſervice rendered him ſtill more conſpicuous than he was before. Upon his return, Mary appeared to be ſo well ſatisfied with it, that ſhe created him earl of Marr; but the lord Erſkine having proved a family right to that title, lord James afterwards exchanged it for that of Murray. During his abſence upon his border expedition, the popiſh party made a freſh eſſay for reſuming their influence. The archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, the biſhops of Dublin and Caithneſs, with the biſhop of Roſs, preſident of the ſeſſion, repaired to court; and Edinburgh was filled

filled with Roman catholics. An accident which happened during their reſidence there, perhaps diſconcerted them. All of a ſudden, on the night of the ſixteenth of November, the court was alarmed with a report, that the earl of Arran was at hand with an armed force to carry off the queen. The conſternation which this occaſioned is inconceivable. All the avenues to the court were immediately ſearched and guarded; the paſſages to the queen's bedchamber were barricaded; and after ſome deliberation it was reſolved, that the lords who were lodged in the palace ſhould form themſelves, and their followers, into a regular guard againſt any ſurprize. Buchanan pretends, that the whole of this alarm was a contrivance between Mary and her baſtard brother, the lord John, in order to find a pretext to raiſe a regular body-guard, which was to attend her, after the manner of foreign courts. Whatever may be in this conjecture, (for it can be no more) it appears, that before this time, the earl of Arran had actually committed acts of lunacy, and had croſſed the Forth from St. Andrew's, though attended only by one or two followers. It is certain, that all the Reformed party conſidered the whole as a contrivance of the queen. The duke of Chatleheraut complained to Mary, in very high terms, of the aſperſion that had been caſt upon his family; and demanded, that

A.D. 1561.

An alarm at court.

A. D. 1561. that the authors ſhould be proſecuted and puniſhed upon the Statute of Leaſing-making. All that Mary did, was to purge herſelf, in the ſtrongeſt terms, of any intention to his, or his family's, prejudice; but this gave ſo little ſatisfaction to the duke, that he retired from court, and ſhut himſelf up in his caſtle of Hamilton.

Injuſtice of hiſtorians.

The violent prepoſſeſſions which the proteſtant hiſtorians of this reign entertained againſt Mary; their being unacquainted with, or enemies to, the higher modes of life; but, above all, their averſion to the Roman catholic religion, have not ſuffered them to repreſent her conduct or ſituation in a favourable, or, indeed, fair light. Without having recourſe to the repreſentations of Leſley, (who, perhaps, erred on the other extreme) if we conſult Randolph, whoſe narrative is far from being partial to Mary, they admit of a more pleaſing view. From him it is plain, that the general declamations of Buchanan and Knox, againſt the licentious living of the queen and her court, was founded only upon the innocent diverſions of which, from her former ſtate of life, and perhaps by nature ſhe was fond. Theſe were, indeed, incompatible with the gloomy ſentiments of ſuch religioniſts as Knox; but they were far from being diſagreeable even to the lord James, or the leading men of quality among the Reformers; ſo that the diſlike they afterwards ſhewed to them, probably

probably proceeded from political motives. A.D. 1561.
Her perſonal behaviour was irreproachable; for though Randolph was in the ſecret of Knox and all the Reformers, yet we find no imputation of levity, far leſs of immorality, laid to her charge. On the contrary, he tells Cecil, that ſhe had ſeverely reprimanded ſome of her principal courtiers, who had behaved riotouſly upon the ſtreets of Edinburgh. We may likewiſe gather, from more than one of the ſame miniſter's diſpatches, that the behaviour of the earl of Arran, Knox, and the zealous Reformers towards her, was diſreſpectful, and unbecoming in ſubjects.

Conduct of Mary.

With regard to Mary's political and religious conduct (for the one is connected with the other), I am inclined to think, that ſhe was driven from the plan of moderation ſhe had laid down, by the intractable undutiful behaviour of the ſame zealots; and this I apprehend muſt appear from the repreſentation of facts in which all parties are agreed; but when I ſay this, I am far from denying, that ſhe had a ſtrong biaſs for popery, and an averſion towards the proteſtant religion. She had, however, placed the head of that religion in her dominions, at the head of her councils. She had made him her own delegate; and notwithſtanding his acknowledged ſeverity of manners, he was, at this time, an advocate not only for her conduct, but her ſincerity. After he

A. D. 1561. he had reduced the borderers, and entered into an agreement with the lord Gray, and Sir John Foſter, two of the Engliſh wardens, for the future pacification of thoſe parts, and had returned to Edinburgh, the queen immediately diſmiſſed the guard of noblemen, which had given ſo much offence to the Reformers; and her behaviour to the Roman catholic biſhops was wiſe and ſteady. They took the advantage of that opportunity to apply to be reſtored to their power and temporalities, and offered to raiſe a large contribution on that condition. Mary's anſwer was, that their cauſe muſt come under the cognizance of a parliament; adding, that "that which is done by an order and good advice may longeſt continue." The prelates finding themſelves diſappointed in this application, complained of the lord James as having too great authority in the kingdom, and of young Maitland having "a crafty head and a fell (ſharp) tongue;" but their chief apprehenſion aroſe from the propoſed interview between Mary and Elizabeth, which they thought muſt terminate in the utter ruin of the catholic religion in Scotland, and her own converſion to proteſtantiſm. Mary gave them no ſatisfaction as to any of their complaints; and, at laſt, ſhe diſmiſſed them ſomewhat abruptly. This application of the prelates, and its failure, is a proof, I think, that Mary (at that time at leaſt) acted without any duplicity towards her proteſtant

teſtant ſubjects. She is charged, with ſome juſtice, for having afterwards departed from thoſe principles of moderation; to account for which, it is neceſſary I ſhould here take a review of what was paſſing upon the continent, and in England. A. D. 1561.

Affairs of the continent.

The queen-mother of France, after Mary's departure to Scotland, became poſſeſſed of the regency, and openly favoured the French hugonots, in oppoſition to the Guiſes, of whoſe power and influence ſhe was jealous. As her proceedings ſeemed to point at the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation in France, the Guiſes united themſelves with the conſtable; and the queen-mother being afraid, that the proteſtants would inveſt the regency in the king of Navarre, conſented to the famous conferences at Poiſſy, between the heads of the Romiſh and the proteſtant clergy, their principal champions being the cardinal of Lorrain, Mary's uncle, and Theodore Beza. Thoſe conferences, as uſually happens in ſuch caſes, left the breach between the two parties wider than ever. They, however, gave the king of Navarre, who had always profeſſed great moderation in religious matters, a handle for declaring himſelf in favour of the Roman catholics. That prince was well known to be immerſed in pleaſure, and indifferent as to all religion, tho' not without ſome ambition, and he had been practiſed upon by the Guiſes. They knew of what import-

A. D. 1561. ance it was to fix him on their ſide; and they not only offered him their niece, the queen of Scotland, in marriage, but to prevail with the king of Spain to reſtore him to his dominions. Thoſe flattering propoſals won the king of Navarre entirely over to the Guiſes, whoſe party, by this acceſſion, became ſtronger than that of the queen-mother. A pacification was then ſubſiſting between the Roman catholics and the hugonots; but it was broken (it is uncertain whether by deſign or chance) by the duke of Guiſe, at a place called Vaſſy. This incident threw all France again into arms. The duke of Guiſe, the conſtable, and the marſhal St. Andre, obliged the queen-mother, againſt her will, to ſuffer them to carry the young king to Paris, which was the head-quarters of the Roman catholics; and a freſh pacification being ſoon after concluded, the king was left in the hands of the queen-mother, and the king of Navarre. The Guiſes appear, actually, to have been in earneſt in their propoſal of a marriage between Mary and the king of Navarre; for the pope was applied to for a divorce between that prince and his queen, becauſe ſhe was a declared heretic. An embaſſador from Savoy, one Moret, arrived in December at Mary's court, on pretence of congratulating her on her return to Scotland; but probably as an agent for the pope, in the affair of her marriage with the king of Navarre, or ſome other

other Roman catholic prince. Randolph, tho' unable to come at the truth, ſaw that Mary was deeply impreſſed with what he ſaid; and, after his arrival, there was a viſible alteration of her conduct towards her proteſtant ſubjects. A.D. 1561.

State of Scotland.

A modern reader muſt have a very confuſed idea of the ſtate of Scotland at this time, unleſs it is explained. I have already obſerved, that the zeal of many of the nobility for the Reformation was quickened by intereſted motives. They had become, by means not the moſt juſtifiable, poſſeſſors of a conſiderable part of the church's revenue; and therefore they were ſecretly unwilling to ſee the Reformed, rendered the eſtabliſhed, religion of Scotland. The conſequence of that event would have been, that they muſt have refunded all that they had ſeized of the church's revenues. The ſelf-denying profeſſions and humble deportment of the few preachers who then laboured in the miniſtry, admitted their receiving as ſtipends but a very ſmall part of the large revenue in queſtion; and the conſequence muſt have been, that the ejection of the prelates and the other Romiſh clergy out of their temporalities, muſt have rendered the queen as powerful and deſpotic in Scotland, as her grand uncle Henry the eighth had ever been in England, upon a ſimilar occaſion. Many of the clergy, eſpecially thoſe who were perſons of high birth, and had

A. D. 1561. embraced an eccleſiaſtical life merely from motives of ambition, were ſagacious enough to foreſee the downfal of their order, and had become proteſtants. By this they ſecured themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their large revenues, ſome of which were afterwards erected into temporal lordſhips. Hence it is, that we ſee priors, abbots, commendators, nay ſometimes biſhops, enliſted under the banners of proteſtantiſm, and bravely fighting in the field againſt popery; but the poſſeſſion of their temporalities muſt have been rendered precarious, the moment the proteſtant religion had been eſtabliſhed, by law, in Scotland.

Beſides the eccleſiaſtics abovementioned, many others had, from the commencement of the Reformation, diſpoſed of their lands in fee-farm, long-leaſes, or in other ſhapes, to their friends and relations, and had obtained a confirmation of ſuch deeds from the court of Rome; but all intercourſe with the pope was now prohibited under ſevere penalties. From this ſhort repreſentation, it plainly appears, that the reformation of religion, without any eye to temporal enjoyments, was far from being the ſole principle on which the Reformation had been embraced by its chief profeſſors in Scotland.

It may, on the other hand, be urged, that the temporal benefit ariſing to the nobility and great landholders of Scotland was accidental

and

and inevitable, in a country where a feudal ariſtocracy, as in Scotland, was the governing principle of the conſtitution. To have thrown thoſe vaſt revenues into the hands of a proteſtant clergy, muſt have been a ſtrong temptation for them to have fallen into that ſenſuality, pride, and ignorance, for which their predeceſſors had been ſo juſtly condemned and ejected. To have veſted them in the crown, muſt have been ſtill more dangerous, for the reaſons above ſpecified; and, more than probably, would have been fatal to the civil liberties of the country. Whether a medium for the employment of thoſe revenues to the improvement of agriculture, commerce, and other arts of life, might not have been fallen upon, I ſhall not pretend to ſay; but even in that caſe, great objections and difficulties muſt have ariſen about the perſons with whom they were to be lodged, and by whom they were to be applied and directed: but I am now to proceed in my narrative. A.D. 1561.

The convention of eſtates, which met at Edinburgh in December, was called together ſolely to deliberate on ſettling the affairs of the church; and on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, the Reformed clergy preſented a petition, praying, that the queen would baniſh the maſs both from her own perſon, and out of her kingdom; that ſhe would eſtabliſh the book of Reformation and diſcipline which had

A convention of eſtates.

A. D. 1561. had been compiled by Knox and his aſſociates; that an act might paſs for the maintenance of the miniſters; and that all profeſſed papiſts ſhould be removed from the court of ſeſſion. This petition occaſioned great debates; but the aſſembly could not decently reject that part of it which related to the maintenance of the miniſters, who had hitherto ſubſiſted in a very poor and precarious manner. It was therefore agreed, that the popiſh eccleſiaſtics ſhould give in rentals of all their temporalities, one third of which was to be paid into the hands of the queen for the maintenance of miniſters, the relief of the poor, and other charitable purpoſes. This act, which was ratified by the queen, was equally diſagreeable to the proteſtants as the papiſts. Knox railed againſt it with a moſt unbounded licentiouſneſs. The earls of Argyle, Morton, and Mar, (for ſo the lord James was then deſigned) ſecretary Maitland, the juſtice-clerk, and clerk regiſter, with Wiſhart of Pitarrow, all of them ſtaunch Reformers, were appointed to modify the annual ſtipends to be paid to the ſeveral preachers. A hundred marks Scots, which, at that time, amounted to about ſeven pounds ſterling, was the general rate, though a few had three hundred marks. "Who would have thought (ſaid Knox, in his uſual ſpirited ſtrain) that when Pharaoh ruled in Egypt, his brethren ſhould have travelled for victuals?" From the moſt

Its proceedings.

moſt accurate accounts that have been publiſhed by Keith and others from regiſters, it appears, that the whole ſum raiſed for ſupporting the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment in Scotland, and for maintaining all its miniſters, did not exceed three thouſand ſix hundred pounds ſterling. This diminutive collection was owing to various arts, by the popiſh prelates diminiſhing the real value of their incomes; but the moſt remarkable was, that the earls of Mar, Argyle, the lord Erſkine, and other great men, who were in poſſeſſion of large eccleſiaſtical revenues, were, becauſe proteſtants, ſuffered to keep the whole, without accounting for the thirds, as the popiſh proprietors were obliged to do. A. D. 1561.

It is, however, pretty difficult to account, upon the whole, for this tranſaction, otherwiſe than by ſuppoſing, that the queen had ſtill ſuch a party in the ſtates, as might have defeated the whole ſcheme, if the diſtribution of the thirds had not been lodged with the crown. That this was the caſe, ſeems more than probable from the original act. There we ſee, that the prelates voluntarily offered the fourth part of their incomes; but the third part was required, if the fourth was not ſufficient to ſupply the queen's exigencies, and to defray the public expences, as well as for the ſupport of the miniſters; the whole to be at the queen's diſpoſal, with advice of her

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A. D. 1562. council. Now the ſum total of the thirds collected, for the firſt year, was forty-nine thouſand nine hundred and fifty-ſix pounds, eighteen ſhillings Scots, which, in Engliſh money, amounts to about ſeven thouſand one hundred and ſeventy pounds. This money was diſpoſed of by warrants from the queen, who was at liberty to apply part of it to her civil eſtabliſhment, as ſhe did by paying her guard, and defraying other expences of her houſhold.

Mary endeavours to compoſe her domeſtic differences.

In the ſpring of this year, Mary aſſiduouſly applied herſelf to compoſe the differences that ſtill ſubſiſted among her nobility; but more eſpecially between the houſe of Hamilton, and the earl of Bothwell; but with little ſucceſs. In May ſhe reſumed her intention to oblige the duke of Chatleheraut to reſign into her hands the caſtle of Dumbarton, which ſhe alledged he had received only in truſt from her mother, and during his good behaviour; but though the duke was, in the end, obliged to comply, it was far from reſtoring the public tranquillity. On the nineteenth of May, after her return from her progreſs in Fife, ſhe aſſembled her privy-council, and ordered them to give their opinion upon her former propoſal of having an interview with the queen of England. They were far from having any objection to this, provided ſhe could have a proper aſſurance of ſafety for her perſon. She accordingly

accordingly named young Maitland to be once more her embaſſador with Elizabeth; and a ſet of inſtructions was drawn up for him, by which he was to do all he could to divert Elizabeth from inſiſting upon a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to prevail on her to be contented with a modification or explanation of it. Mary, when Ledington received his inſtructions, charged him with two letters; one to the lord Robert Dudley, afterwards the celebrated earl of Leiceſter, and Elizabeth's great perſonal favourite. The other was addreſſed to Cecil, her firſt miniſter; and Mary, in both, earneſtly intreats their good offices in bringing her interview with Elizabeth to a happy iſſue; but affairs took an unexpected turn in England. A. D. 1562.

State of the interview between her and Elizabeth,

Elizabeth treated Ledington, upon his arrival at her court, with great diſtinction and careſſes, and appeared determined upon the interview with Mary. Some hiſtorians have queſtioned whether ſhe was ever ſincere as to that meaſure. I am inclined to think, that, at firſt, ſhe was; though ſhe ſecretly afterwards altered her opinion. The proteſtants of France, as we have already ſeen, were then at a low paſs; and Elizabeth had entered into a private treaty with the prince of Condé, and his party, for ſupporting them. As Mary had ſhewn ſuch diſpoſitions for eſtabliſhing proteſtantiſm in her dominions, Elizabeth thought,

A.D. 1562. that by their converſing together, in perſon, ſhe might detach her from the intereſt of the family of Guiſe. That this was Elizabeth's view, appears evidently from the ſtate-papers; but her miniſters beheld the affair in a very different light. Elizabeth, notwithſtanding their reluctance, continued ſo fixed in her purpoſe for the interview, that articles relating to it, by her orders, were drawn up between Ledington and Cecil. It was agreed, that the meeting ſhould take place at York, or in ſome town between that and the river Trent, between the twentieth of Auguſt, and the twentieth of September. Mary was, if ſhe pleaſed, to carry a thouſand perſons with her in her retinue, and to receive from Elizabeth (but for what purpoſe does not clearly appear) ten thouſand pounds ſterling. Elizabeth was to be at liberty to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; but not to preſs it till Mary returned to Scotland, if ſhe ſhould refuſe to ratify it in England, and Mary was to enjoy the exerciſe of her own religion; but no mention was to be made of any thing that could create the leaſt uneaſineſs between the two queens.

who receives bad impreſſions of Mary from Knox

From the manner of wording this agreement, it is plain, that Elizabeth depended greatly on her own abilities for bringing Mary over to her views; and that ſhe flattered herſelf with a proſperous iſſue of the meeting.

Cecil,

Cecil, and other great Engliſh miniſters, continued to be of a different opinion. They had been informed by Knox, and lord James, now earl of Murray, with both whom Cecil kept up a correſpondence, whatever outward appearances Mary affected in favour of the Reformation, that ſhe was unalterably ſet againſt it; and, in her heart, a violent bigot for popery. They thought, that her ſeizing upon the church-lands, would give her ſuch an encreaſe of power, as muſt be of very dangerous conſequence to Elizabeth. They were no ſtrangers to Mary's addreſs, her beautiful perſon, and winning behaviour; and they dreaded the influence which ſo many enchanting qualities might have, in a country where a great party of the ſubjects conſidered her as having a right to be their queen. Thoſe conſiderations, with the growing diſtreſſes of the French proteſtants, ſeem to have made an impreſſion upon Elizabeth, and to have cooled her earneſtneſs for the interview. A.D. 1562.

In a paper drawn up by Cecil, which has come to our hands, that ſtateſman flatly charges the Guiſes with an intention to raiſe their niece to the throne of England. "Whoſoever (ſays he) thinketh that relenting in religion will aſſwage the Guiſians aſpirations, they are far deceived: for two appetites will never be ſatiſfied, but with the thing deſired; the deſire to have ſuch a kingdom as England and Scot- and Cecil.

A. D. 1562. land may make united; and the cruel appetite of a pope and his adherents to have his authority re-eſtabliſhed fully, without any new danger of attempt." This paper was founded upon the report of Sir Henry Sidney, preſident of Wales, whom Elizabeth had ſent to France, to learn the true ſtate of affairs there. His repreſentation, upon his return, was ſo unfavourable, with regard to the conduct of the queen-mother and the Guiſes, that Elizabeth ſent him her embaſſador to Mary. He was furniſhed with a ſet of inſtructions, complaining, that as her promiſe to meet Elizabeth was only conditional, and in caſe that the ſtate of her affairs in France admitted of it, the latter were ſo unfavourable, that ſhe was obliged to poſtpone the interview. The ſame inſtructions proceeded to give a detail of the cruelty and ambition of the houſe of Guiſe, and the popiſh princes of the continent. Then follows an apology for the delay of the meeting; but offers, that it ſhall be at the city of York, or the caſtles of Pomfret and Nottingham, any time Mary ſhould appoint between the twentieth of May next year, and the laſt of Auguſt then following.

State policy of Elizabeth.

It is eaſy, from the complection of thoſe inſtructions, to perceive, that Elizabeth never had harboured a thought of giving Mary the meeting, but with the hopes of prevailing on her to declare herſelf a proteſtant, and to take part againſt her uncles the Guiſes. Mary gave

Sidney,

Sidney, who was a man of penetration and abilities, a moſt complaiſant anſwer to the letter ſent her by Elizabeth; and calling together her privy-council at Stirling, ſhe communicated to them all that ſhe had learned from Sidney, and demanded their opinion, whether ſhe ſhould give Elizabeth the meeting, as ſhe propoſed, the following ſummer? The anſwer was, that they thought the meeting would be highly conducive to the intereſt of both kingdoms; but that they did not ſee any reaſon why it was poſtponed, neither would they adviſe her majeſty to truſt her perſon in England; and therefore referred the matter to herſelf, both as to the place of meeting, and ſecurity for her ſafety. There is reaſon to believe, that this anſwer coincided with Mary's own ſentiments, which began now to be more unfavourable than formerly towards the Reformers. A French agent, one Villemont, had been ſent to her court, through England, by her uncles; and it was probably from him, that ſhe received the letters mentioned by Buchanan from them and the pope, encouraging her, by all means, to attempt to reſtore the ancient religion, and to truſt her affairs in the hands of the earl of Huntley, inſtead of her brother the earl of Murray, whom they again devoted with other heads of the Scotch party to deſtruction, promiſing, at the ſame time, that ſhe ſhould be plentifully ſupplied with money. The ſame letters adviſed her

A.D. 1562.

Buchanan. Spotſwood.

A. D. 1562. her to give ſome encouragement for one of Huntley's ſons to hope, that ſhe would marry him, though it is certain, that her uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain, was then treating of a match between her and the archduke of Auſtria; and the king of Spain had propoſed his eldeſt ſon as her huſband.

Character and great conſequence of the earl of Huntley,

It is not to be denied, that thoſe letters and aſſurances made an impreſſion upon the mind of Mary; but ſuch was the opinion ſhe ſtill had of her brother, that ſhe imparted to him their contents, and put him upon his guard; nor is there the leaſt reaſon to believe, that ſhe gave Huntley's ſon any encouragement. It cannot, however, be doubted, that the practices of that nobleman were dangerous to the ſtate, and his poſſeſſions too ample for a ſubject. He had long born a principal ſway in all public affairs, and had, through every revolution of ſtate, maintained a leading character in the nation. Though a profeſſed Roman catholic, he affected the greateſt zeal for the honour of his country, and for her independency upon the French, as well as the Engliſh. This principle was a ſpecious pretext for his joining the queen-regent againſt the Engliſh, and the congregationiſts againſt the French. Pretending to be above mixing with cabals at court, he had generally, upon the criſis of any great affair, which might have been diſagreeable to his private ſentiments, retired to the North, where his

his immenſe eſtate and following gave him the figure of an independent prince. Being fond of making a diſplay of his pomp and power in the eyes of foreigners, the princes and noblemen who had attended Mary to Scotland, upon their return to France, had repreſented him as being, by far, the moſt conſequential ſubject ſhe had, and the only perſon whom they could truſt for reſtoring the Roman catholic religion in that country. He was, therefore, courted by the Guiſes, and the popiſh princes of the continent, with whom he kept up a correſpondence; and he thought himſelf moſt unjuſtly treated by Mary, on account of the preference ſhe had given her brother in her councils and affections; but ſome intereſted motives co-operated with his reſentments. A.D. 1562.

who is diſpleaſed at Mary's favouring her brother.

It appears that Mary, notwithſtanding Huntley was at the head of the Roman catholic party in her kingdom, diſliked both his power and his practices. By long poſſeſſing the place of lord-chancellor, and by the partiality of the two laſt reigns in his favour, he had extended his dominion over the Highlands, where he claimed a direct ſuperiority; and oppreſſed thoſe chieftains and great landholders who had ſpirit enough to oppoſe him. He had, by the tacit indulgence of the crown, long collected the large revenues of the earldom of Mar, and applied them to his own uſe;

A.D. 1562. uſe; and pretended thereby, they were his legal inheritance. When Mary gave her brother that eſtate and title, Huntley, though he could plead no title but poſſeſſion, thought that he was robbed of his property; and having lived always upon bad terms with lord James, he, at laſt, accuſed him, in direct terms, of aſpiring to the crown, in a paper which he ſigned and preſented to Mary. As the charge was weakly ſupported, Mary diſmiſſed it with contempt; and it ſerved only to render her brother more fixed in her favour. Failing in this attempt, Huntley is ſaid, by Buchanan, to have applied to James Hepburn earl of Bothwell, who had a mortal antipathy to the Hamilton family, to excite the earl of Mar to ruin the duke of Chatleheraut. Bothwell (who is afterwards to make a deteſtable figure in this hiſtory) was a needy ſpendthrift nobleman, who had diſſipated his eſtate by luxury and vice, and fit to perpetrate any villainous action. Mar diſdained the propoſal made to him by Bothwell; but notwithſtanding his enmity to the houſe of Hamilton, it was agreed with the duke's friends, that the earl of Mar ſhould be murdered, while the queen was hunting in Falkland Park, and that they ſhould at the ſame time carry off her perſon. Gawin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, was to aſſiſt Bothwell in the aſſaſſination; and, according to Knox, other favourites of Mary were to ſhare the

the ſame fate. The deſign was diſcovered to Mar by the earl of Arran. Bothwell was apprehended, and ſent priſoner to Edinburgh caſtle, as the abbot of Kilwinning was to that of Stirling; and the earl of Arran, with others who are ſaid to have been concerned in the conſpiracy, to ſeparate priſons. A. D. 1562.

Though I have related the above circumſtances from Buchanan and Spotſwood, yet I am ſtrongly inclined to believe, that the aſſaſſination plot was hatched in Arran's diſtempered brain; for it appears from Randolph's letters, and other authorities, that he was, at this time, frantic, though at certain times he had lucid intervals. The whole of the ſtory is improbable; and no part of it was made out by any evidence. The earl of Huntley, by the ſame authors, is ſaid to have ſtationed two of his followers to have aſſaſſinated the earl of Mar in the night-time; that he obſerved the fellows, and eſcaped the danger; but could obtain no ſatisfaction from the queen. Upon the whole, I am of opinion, that Mary's affection for her brother was now beginning to decline, though ſhe had rendered him too powerful to be able to reduce him all at once. The daily advices ſhe received from her friends abroad; the practices of her popiſh favourites; Mar's rigid attachment to proteſtantiſm, which took from her all hopes of his converſion; and perhaps her own penetration might very poſ- A fictitious plot.

A. D. 1562. ſibly have wrought an alteration in her ſentiments. Nothing could be more improbable than the charges againſt Huntley; and no doubt he had friends about her perſon who repreſented to her (as ſome hiſtorians have done ſince to the public), that the whole conſpiracy was a fiction to deſtroy the earl of Huntley, and, in him, the Roman catholic intereſt in the kingdom: but an incident which happened at this time, proved unfavourable to Huntley.

Cataſtrophe of the Huntley family,

June 27. His third ſon, who is deſigned Sir John Gordon, ſometimes of Finlater, and ſometimes of Deſkford, had a diſpute with lord Ogilvie about an eſtate, which produced an encounter on the ſtreets of Edinburgh, in which the lord Ogilvie was dangerouſly wounded. Gordon was immediately put under confinement by the magiſtrates, who ſent an account of the whole affair to Mary at Stirling. She was then preparing, by the earl of Mar's advice, to viſit the northern parts of her dominions, to convince her ſubjects there, there exiſted in Scotland a greater perſonage than the earl of Huntley. Though Mary approved of what the magiſtrates of Edinburgh had done, and had ordered Gordon to be confined in a place of greater ſecurity than the jail at Edinburgh, yet he made his eſcape northwards, by the aſſiſtance of his friends; and did not fail to repreſent the earl of Mar in the moſt odious light,

light, as the author of his ſevere treatment. A. D. 1562.
The queen was then proceeding on her progreſs; and received a viſit from the counteſs of Huntley, an artful intriguing woman, who had been employed by her huſband to ſollicit her ſon's pardon. Mary inſiſted upon his ſurrendering himſelf priſoner in her court of juſticiary at Aberdeen, which he accordingly did, and was committed to the cuſtody of the magiſtrates there, till he could be carried under a guard to the caſtle of Stirling. As the lord Erſkine, the governor of that fort, was the friend and uncle of the earl of Mar, the Gordons conſidered this order as proceeding from the earl, and little better than a ſentence of death. On his road to Stirling he made a ſecond eſcape, and returned to the North, where a civil war appeared now to be inevitable. While Mary was at Tarnway, the ſeat of the antient earls of Murray, on the tenth of September, attended by the earls of Argyle, Mariſchal, Mar, and Morton, ſecretary Ledington, who was now returned to Scotland, and the lord juſtice-clerk, a ſentence of forfeiture was iſſued from the privy-council againſt Gordon, his wife, who is called "lady Finlater, (his pretended ſpouſe)" and all his aiders and abettors.

The Gordons were now in a ſtate of open rebellion; and they had adopted the ſtale pretext, that they only meant to remove evil who rebel,

A. D. 1562. council from before the queen (by whom they meant the earls of Mar and Morton, and young Maitland); but that they were perfectly well affected to her majeſty. Many conſultations are ſaid to have been held about aſſaſſinating thoſe three obnoxious counſellors; and it was thought, that if Mary could have been perſuaded to have accepted of an earneſt invitation given her by Huntley to viſit his houſe at Strathbogie, the murders would there have been perpetrated. Though Mary had ſeemed inclined to accept of the invitation, yet ſhe no ſooner heard of Gordon's freſh eſcape, than conſidering it as an inſult done to herſelf, ſhe peremptorily refuſed to enter Huntley's roof; and proceeded, as ſhe had propoſed, towards Inverneſs. This was a hazardous meaſure. The town and caſtle were full of Huntley's vaſſals and followers; and an army of his dependents had been aſſembled in the neighbourhood. Mary, on the other hand, was but ſlenderly attended; and arriving at Inverneſs, ſhe was ſo apprehenſive of her own ſafety, that ſhe had ordered ſome ſhips to be in readineſs to carry her off; a precaution the more neceſſary, as the governor of the caſtle had refuſed her admittance into that fort.

Fortunately for Mary, ſome of the Highland clans, that of Clancattan particularly, had ſided, more through fear than affection, with

Huntley.

Huntley. Among others were the Monros and the Frafers; and no ſooner was it known, that their ſovereign's perſon was expoſed in a defenceleſs town, ſurrounded by rebels, than they came in a body to offer her their ſervices. Their example was followed by the Clancattans, who were principally compoſed of the Mackintoſhes, and deſerted the earl of Huntley's ſtandard, to arrange themſelves under that of their queen. Mary availed herſelf of their loyalty, by forcing the caſtle of Inverneſs to ſurrender, and hanging up the governor and his officers, while ſhe ſpared the common men. She then proceeded to Aberdeen, where Huntley, or his lady, or both, endeavoured to gain admittance into her preſence; but were refuſed. A.D. 1562.

Mary takes the caſtle of Inverneſs.

As the whole of the tranſactions and inſurrection which followed, are contradictory, ſometimes in themſelves, and to the avowed profeſſions of thoſe concerned; and as we have few or no evidences to guide us as to Huntley's real intentions, we muſt have recourſe for reconciling thoſe different appearances to the genius and diſpoſitions of the times and country. The earl of Mar had, at this very intereſting criſis, reſigned that title to the lord Erſkine; and Mary had created him earl of Murray, to which ſhe had annexed the large revenues of that eſtate, which had been long enjoyed by the Huntley family. This, added to former provocations,

Huntley defeated and killed at the battle of Corrichie.

A. D. 1562. vocations, aggravated by the paſſions and prepoſſeſſions of old age, and inflamed by being threatened with the loſs of a power, which, till then, had known no controul, may well account for the inconſiſtent conduct of Huntley, without ſuppoſing him to be guilty of the horrid barbarities charged upon him by his enemies. There can ſcarcely be a doubt of his being convinced, that Murray, and the queen's other miniſters, intended to ruin him and his family, and that he had no ſafety but by being at the head of an armed force. He had cut to pieces ſeveral ſtraggling parties of the royaliſts; and he received intelligence of all his enemies motions from his friends the earl of Sutherland, who was of his name and family, and Leſley of Bulquhane, both of them in great favour with Mary. His correſpondence with them being diſcovered, the former made his eſcape, and the latter was put under arreſt. This ſerved only to precipitate Huntley in his treaſons, though it ought to have had a contrary effect; for the diſcovery had made ſuch an impreſſion upon his followers, that from eight hundred, they immediately dwindled, and many returned home, or ſubmitted. As to Mary, her ſituation (ſuppoſing Huntley to have been a rebel in his heart) certainly was perilous. She had made the earl of Murray her general; but ſhe appears, at this time, to have had about her no troops but thoſe brought to her aſſiſtance by the

the earl of Errol, the lords Forbes and Saltoun, and Leſley of Balquhane. She had, indeed, iſſued orders for arraying the neighbouring countries to the South; but Murray receiving certain intelligence that Huntley was in full march towards Aberdeen, reſolved to attack him at the head of the few troops attending the queen. He found Huntley poſted at a place called Corrichie; and he immediately gave orders for the charge. He was but faintly obeyed by the Lowlanders, who were unwilling to fight againſt their friends the Gordons; and upon Huntley's ſeeing them retire, he ordered his men to throw away their lances, and to finiſh the rout with their broad ſwords. The earl of Murray was then attended by about a hundred choſen troops, but well armed with lances, which, upon the irregular attack made by Huntley's men, they preſented to the breaſts of their enemies, and obliged them to retire. This was no ſooner ſeen by the cowardly part of Murray's army, than they immediately returned to the charge, and obtained a complete victory without the loſs (as we are told) of a man. Of the rebels, a hundred and twenty were killed, and as many made priſoners. The earl of Huntley himſelf, being fat and unwieldy, was made priſoner, and trodden to death on the field of battle, or, as others ſay, killed by Murray's expreſs orders. His ſon, Sir John, was taken priſoner; A.D. 1562.

A. D. 1562. priſoner; and carried, by Murray, with the other priſoners, (among whom was Adam, another of Huntley's ſons) in triumph, to Aberdeen.

Sir John Gordon beheaded.

Sir John Gordon was tried, and in three days was beheaded; being unmercifully butchered by an unſkilful executioner, and attracting the admiration and compaſſion of all the ſpectators by his graceful figure, and manly deportment. Adam was pardoned on account of his tender youth; but the eldeſt ſon, lord Gordon, put himſelf into the hands of his father-in-law the duke of Chatleheraut, who, by the queen's order, committed him priſoner to his caſtle of Kinnail. He was ſoon after tried, and ſentenced to death, for the ſhare he had in his father's treaſons; but Mary moderated his puniſhment, by confining him in the caſtle of Dunbar. His trial is ſaid to have been very unformal, and his ſentence unjuſt. The fate of the earl his father's remains exhibits a ſtriking example of the abſurdity of the antient feudal laws, and the rancour of party. His dead body was carried, by ſea, to Edinburgh; and kept unburied all the winter in the abbey of Holyrood-houſe; and then an indictment of high-treaſon was exhibited againſt him before the parliament, in the month of May following, "eftir that he was deid, and departit frae this mortal lyfe."

Keith.

Such

Such was the iſſue of this inſurrection, ſo fatal to a noble family, which was the main ſupport of the Roman catholic religion in Scotland. Whatever their real intentions might have been, I cannot help thinking, that it was at this period particularly fortunate for the proteſtant religion, that the unguarded conduct of the earl and his ſons hurried them into rebellion, and rendered them objects of public juſtice; ſo as to afford a plauſible, if not legal, handle for reducing their exorbitant power. The friends of their family and cauſe have repeatedly publiſhed, that Mary was ſorry for their misfortunes, and the miſcarriage of their enterprize. I have already touched on that point; and ſhall here only add, that the ſeverity with which they were proſecuted, after they were defeated, might give her ſome concern; and that conſidering what ſoon after befel her, ſhe might both think and ſay, that the earl of Huntley and his family were her beſt friends. On the other hand, Randolph, who attended Mary through the whole expedition, gives ſome ſhocking particulars of the earl and his ſons, in one of his diſpatches to Cecil. He ſays, that Sir John Gordon, who was beheaded, confeſſed, that, at four different times, he and his friends intended to have ſlain the earls of Murray and Morton, and young Maitland; and that the places, the times, and a number of men, were ſo convenient,

A.D. 1562.

Reflection on the caſe of the Gordons.

A.D. 1562. nient, that only the hand of God did ſtay it. He adds, that Sir John likewiſe confeſſed, if his father had taken Aberdeen, as he intended, he would have burnt the queen, and as many as were in the houſe with her. The truth of the laſt confeſſion is, I think, very queſtionable. I make no doubt of its being agreeable to Randolph's information; but we are to conſider, that that information came from perſons whoſe intereſt it was to repreſent the inſurgents, and their cauſe, to Elizabeth and her miniſters in the moſt deteſtable light.

A French poet executed.

The tranquility of the North, by the executions of Gordon and his chief accomplices, being ſomewhat reſtored, Mary ſet out for Edinburgh. On the road, ſhe was informed by Villemont, (whom Randolph repreſents in a very contemptible light) that ſhe had been ſet aſide from all ſucceſſion to the crown of England, during Elizabeth's late indiſpoſition. Soon after, one Chaſtelet, a French poet, preſented her with a letter from Monſ. D'Anville, and a collection of his own verſes, which Mary received with great civility; not ſuſpecting that ſhe was the object of the poet's adoration, and that his paſſion had even touched his brain. His frenzy led him to conceal himſelf in Mary's room, while ſhe was going to bed. Being diſcovered, he was pardoned; but repeating his folly, Mary ſuffered him to be apprehended, tried, and publicly executed.

A. D. 1562.

State of affairs abroad.

Two particulars at this time greatly diſcompoſed Mary. The firſt was, the war which was juſt broken out between France and England; the other, the convoking a new parliament, which ſhe could not avoid, and which ſhe was afraid might abridge her even in the private exerciſe of her religion. Elizabeth had entered into a treaty with the prince of Condé, the head of the French hugonots, for putting into her hands Havre de Grace, as a ſecurity for the men and money with which ſhe conſented to aſſiſt him. This came to the knowledge of the French court, who put Throgmorton under arreſt. Elizabeth complained of this; and told the French embaſſador, that the only reaſon why ſhe inclined to take part in the troubles of France, was to depreſs the houſe of Guiſe, the open and declared enemies of her crown and title. The truth is, that, at this time, Arthur Pole and his brother, who were great-grandchildren to George duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the fourth, had been tampered with by the Guiſes. The eldeſt brother was to take upon himſelf the title of duke of Clarence, to land at Milford Haven with five thouſand men, and there to proclaim the queen of Scotland (whom he was to marry) queen of England likewiſe. This ridiculous project came to the knowledge of Elizabeth and her miniſters; and the chief agents in the conſpiracy were apprehended, tried, and convicted.

A.D. 1562. Though the Guiſes might have no farther view in treating with the Poles, than to embarraſs Elizabeth, yet the ſuſpicion fell heavy in the mind of that princeſs, who was highly ſuſceptible of ſtate-jealouſy, not only againſt them, but againſt Mary.

Elizabeth averſe to Mary's marriage. After the treaty between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé was completed, in all her manifeſtos, with which ſhe filled the different courts of Europe, ſhe alledged, that the depreſſion of the houſe of Guiſe was her chief motive for treating with the hugonots. In the mean time, the latter received a ſevere blow by their loſing Rouen, which the duke of Guiſe ſtormed, and where the king of Navarre was killed. Their affairs were brought ſtill lower by the prince of Condé being defeated, and made priſoner in the battle of Dreux, by the duke of Guiſe. This ſtate of affairs between France and England occaſioned young Maitland, by Mary's order, to write a letter to Cecil, laying before him her ſituation; and that ſhe could no longer continue neutral in the quarrel between France and England, but muſt take part with her uncles, unleſs Elizabeth would declare the ſucceſſion to be in her perſon; in which caſe he promiſed, that Mary ſhould prefer the friendſhip of Elizabeth to that of her uncles, and all the world beſides. Before Mary could receive any anſwer to this letter, ſhe received propoſals of marriage from ſeveral

Dated November 14.

princes

princes on the continent; and the good understanding between her and Elizabeth, to all appearance, was daily encreasing. Not only the archduke of Austria and the prince of Spain, but the king of Sweden had publicly put in their pretensions to her hand. Elizabeth, upon this, instructed Randolph, with regard to the marriage which the cardinal of Lorrain was negotiating between Mary and the archduke of Austria, that "if she listened to the cardinal, as to any thing relating to that match, it would prove the ready way to dissolve the good agreement between Scotland and England, if not to exclude her from any hopes of succeeding to the crown of England: which that she might not come short of, she warned her as a friend, to make choice of such an husband out of the English nation, as might be both acceptable to her, and lay the foundation of a firm peace between the two kingdoms at the same time, and secure her succession to the crown; which could never be declared, till her choice was publicly known as to this matter."

A.D. 1562.

Camden.

Mary throws her eyes upon lord Darnley.

Mary either took Elizabeth's hint as to chusing an English husband, or had already her eye upon one; for it is certain, that about this time, she had thoughts of marrying her cousin Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, eldest son to the earl of Lenox, by lady Margaret Douglas. Towards the end of the year, she resolved once more to send Maitland as her embassador to England,

A. D. 1562. England, and from thence to France. He was inſtructed to offer Mary's mediation in the differences between Elizabeth and the French government; in which Mary ſaid, ſhe could be no longer an indifferent ſpectator, her neareſt relations being ſo intimately concerned in them; and likewiſe between the French king and his proteſtant ſubjects. Maitland was farther inſtructed to attend, in the ſtricteſt manner, to the affair of the ſucceſſion; and if a proper opportunity ſhould offer, to preſs Elizabeth on that head. Mean while, if any thing was undertaken to ſet it aſide in Mary's perſon, or any motion made tending to that purpoſe, that he ſhould enter a ſtrong proteſt againſt it, in the face of parliament; and that he ſhould leave nothing unattempted to eſtabliſh her right. Soon after Maitland's arrival in England, Elizabeth's parliament met; and both houſes preſented her with a ſtrong addreſs for her to limit the ſucceſſion to her crown; but conceived in terms by no means favourable to Mary's party or pretenſions. Elizabeth was, in her own mind, convinced of Mary's right; but intimated her diſpleaſure to her parliament, that ſhe ſhould be urged on ſo tender a point. She conſidered her indeciſion on that head, as her greateſt ſecurity; that if ſhe declared for Mary, ſhe muſt undergo perpetual alarms from the papiſts, and her own enemies in England, and loſe the hearts of her beſt proteſtant ſubjects.

If,

If, on the other hand, ſhe ſhould ſet her aſide, her's might become a cauſe with the other princes of Europe, and produce a confederacy againſt England, in Mary's favour. Upon the whole, the affair was ſo managed by Elizabeth, that Maitland had no ground for a proteſt. A.D. 1562.

The death of the duke of Guiſe, who was aſſaſſinated in February this year, proved a heavy ſtroke to Mary, and entirely altered the complection of her affairs. His brother, the cardinal of Lorrain, continued, indeed, to be her zealous friend, and was a man of parts; but void of thoſe great qualities, either in the cabinet or the field, that rendered the duke the greateſt ſubject in France, and the formidable head of the Roman catholics all over Europe. Mary ſeems, from the time of his death, to have given over all thoughts of a foreign marriage, eſpecially with the houſe of Auſtria. She knew, that her ſubjects never could be eaſy if ſhe ſhould give her hand to the prince of Spain, (flattering as that alliance was) becauſe it muſt expoſe them once more to the danger of a foreign yoke, and involve them in, perhaps, a perpetual war with England. The Roman catholic party in Scotland was reduced to ſo low a paſs, that ſhe could receive no ſupport from them; and though a ſteady Roman catholic herſelf, ſhe found it her wiſeſt courſe to cultivate the friendſhip of Elizabeth, and to continue in the paths of moderation, 1563. State of affairs, and the parliament.

A. D. 1563. ration, and being directed by her proteſtant ſubjects. Her parliament met in May; and many popular acts paſſed in favour of the proteſtant religion, with the conſent of Mary. The archbiſhop of St. Andrew's was apprehended, and ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Edinburgh, for having ſaid maſs; and ſeveral of the other Roman catholic clergy underwent the like proſecutions. The act of oblivion, ſtipulated by the treaty of Edinburgh, was ratified; but was extended; for a grand committee of parliament was appointed to enquire into the nature of the crimes which might have been committed from the ſixth of March 1558, to the firſt of September 1561; to point out ſuch of them as ought not to come within the act of oblivion; and to determine what cauſes ought to be proſecuted, and what not. It was with ſome difficulty that the queen was brought to conſent to this confirmation. She was afraid, that it might be conſidered as giving a ſanction to the treaty of Edinburgh, which ſhe was firmly reſolved never to ratify; but upon the lords of parliament throwing themſelves on their knees at her feet, and urging, that it was the only meaſure which could reſtore the public tranquillity, ſhe gave her conſent.

Its proceedings. In this parliament Huntley, though dead, was forfeited; as was the earl of Sutherland, and many gentlemen of the name of Gordon; but

but it appears from the records, that the moſt A. D. 1563.
conſiderable among them had not joined Huntley, but had entered into recognizances for their good behaviour, while the queen was in the North. Many ſtatutes paſſed for regulating the coin, and preventing a ſcarcity of proviſions. The letters of marque formerly granted to Barton againſt the Portugueſe, were recalled, upon Mary receiving a conſiderable ſum for her conſent. An excluſive privilege for making ſalt in a new and more advantageous manner than any known then in Scotland, was granted to certain foreigners; and it was rendered capital for any Scotch ſubject to enliſt or pay ſoldiers without a royal permiſſion. Adultery was likewiſe rendered capital; and a commiſſion appointed (in which Buchanan, the hiſtorian, was included) to inquire into the revenues of the colleges of St. Andrew's; and to draw up, for the next parliament, ſuch inſtructions as they might judge moſt conducive to the education of youth, particularly in the languages (which were not taught in that univerſity); and for the providing of proper inſtructors. Other acts were made for the preſervation of the public tranquillity; and a remarkable one paſſed, ordaining, that henceforth neither peace nor war ſhould be determined in any convention or council; nor a general taxation granted, unleſs five or ſix of the provoſts, aldermen, bailies

A. D. 1563. lies of the principal burghs, were lawfully ſummoned to attend. This had been before ordered by the council; but had never before received the royal conſent. The laſt act of this parliament I ſhall mention, was that which rendered witchcraft capital; and two perſons were accordingly ſentenced, by the earl of Murray, to the flames, at Inverneſs this year, upon that ſtatute.

Mary's magnificence.

Mary, in holding this parliament, aſſumed a ſtate and magnificence that had been ſeldom ſeen in Scotland before. She rode to it on horſeback, dreſt in her royal robes, preceded by the duke of Chatleheraut, who carried the crown, as the earl of Argyle did the ſcepter, and the earl of Murray the ſword of ſtate. She opened the aſſembly by a ſpeech, in Engliſh, from the throne; and acted in every reſpect with great dignity, being preſent, in perſon, when ſentences of forfeiture were paſſed upon the earls of Huntley and Sutherland. The parliament being diſſolved, Mary made preparations for taking the diverſion of hunting, during the ſummer, in Argyleſhire and Athol; while the earl of Murray, and her other two natural brothers, went to Inverneſs, to preſerve the tranquillity of the northern counties. There the lord John of Coldinghame, one of them, died, but unlamented. Before ſhe left her capital, her conduct and compliances had been ſuch, that ſhe had no reaſon to apprehend that

any

any diſſatisfaction could remain in the minds of her proteſtant ſubjects. No adequate proviſion had, indeed, been made for their preachers; but that was owing to her miniſters of ſtate, who were fond of handling the public money, and the church revenues, as I have already obſerved. She had been preſent during the chief debates in parliament, in which ſhe rather aſſiſted than over-ruled; and ſhe had even aſſured the aſſembly, that ſhe was ready to do every thing farther that might be thought neceſſary for the quiet and ſecurity of her proteſtant ſubjects. The extending the act of oblivion to the firſt of September 1561, had left them nothing to fear from her reſentment; for even the murderers of cardinal Beaton had received their pardon. All that could be charged upon her was, that ſhe had ordered the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's to be diſcharged from his confinement; and if we are to believe one of her beſt informed biographers, it coſt her ſome tears before ſhe could bring her counſellors to conſent even to that exerciſe of her prerogative. All her caution and tenderneſs not to give offence, availed her nothing in the ſight of Knox. He continued to repreſent her moſt innocent diverſions, ſuch as dancing, as unpardonable, diabolical, crimes, or evidences of impiety and infanity. When ſhe had ordered a ball for the entertainment of her court, he

A.D. 1563.

Udall.

Inſolence of Knox.

A. D. 1563. declaimed againſt fiddling and dancing in the moſt ſcurrilous terms, and even pointed her out by name. This intemperate behaviour was diſapproved of, even by the earl of Murray; but no other ways reſented by the queen, than her ſending for the preacher, and mildly queſtioning him, why he thus endeavoured to make her odious in the ſight of her ſubjects? His anſwer was not only unmannerly, but outrageous; for among other things he told her, "That if ſhe had heard what he had ſaid, if there were any ſpark of the ſpirit of God, yea of honeſty or wiſdom in her, ſhe would not have been offended." He then repeated all the coarſe offenſive matter of his ſermon; and when Mary reminded him that ſhe and her uncles were of a religion different from his; and that if he ſaw any thing blameable in her conduct, he ought to admoniſh her in private; the anſwer of Knox was, "That he was aſſured that her uncles were enemies to God, and to his ſon Jeſus Chriſt: but as to his admoniſhing of her in private, he was called to a public function within the church of God, and appointed by God to rebuke the vices and ſins of all; but that he was not appointed to come to every man in particular, to ſhow him his offence; for that labour were infinite: but if her majeſty were pleaſed to frequent the public ſermons, then he doubted not but that ſhe ſhould underſtand both what he liked and diſliked

liked in her majeſty, as in all others." Having taken his leave of the queen, he ſays he heard ſome papiſts ſaying, he is not afraid; to which he anſwered, "What ſhould the pleaſant face of a lady afray (frighten) me?" A.D. 1563.

Moderation of Mary.

It muſt be admitted by every moderate proteſtant, that the above behaviour of Knox was an inſult not only upon majeſty, but decency; and whatever fondneſs Mary might have for the Roman catholic religion, it cannot be diſcovered, that at this time ſhe had the leaſt intention to re-eſtabliſh the public profeſſion of it within her dominions. When the counteſs of Huntley deſired an audience to intercede for her unhappy family, it was refuſed her by Mary, who approved of proſecuting the Roman catholic prieſts who were accuſed of celebrating the maſs, in violation of the law. She expreſſed, in public, the moſt lively ſentiments of friendſhip for queen Elizabeth, who ſent her compliments of condolance upon the death of her two uncles, the duke of Guiſe, and the grand prior. About the middle of May, Le Croc arrived in Scotland, as an agent from her uncle the cardinal of Lorrain, to know her ſentiments about her propoſed marriage with the archduke of Auſtria; and to offer her, in the name of the emperor, the Tiroleſe in dowry; but Mary declined the propoſal, or, at leaſt, to give him any anſwer till Maitland ſhould return from his embaſſy.

Keith,

A. D. 1563. Keith, and other hiſtorians of the ſame caſt, pretend, that the countenance ſhewn to the Reformed religion by Mary, was owing to the earl of Murray, who continued to be her firſt miniſter. But ſurely her employing ſo determined a proteſtant as he was to act in that capacity, ever ſince her return from France, was a proof (if not of her ſincerity) of her moderation in matters of religion, which was the only ſubject, at this time, of any difference between her and the moſt violent proteſtants. Murray's own conduct is a ſufficient proof that he did not think himſelf, even tho' the Huntley family was now reduced, ſtrong enough to retain his power againſt Mary's inclination.

Maitland's negotiations.

Maitland made a great figure at the court of England. His uncommon abilities, his politeneſs, his claſſical learning, and inſinuating manners, while they procured him the eſteem of Elizabeth and her miniſters, excited, at the ſame time, their jealouſy; and notwithſtanding his attachment to the proteſtant religion, they began to ſuſpect, what I believe was the truth, that he was too much in the intereſt of his ſovereign to betray her. The ſtate of affairs between Elizabeth and the French court, after the death of the duke of Guiſe, became very critical. Elizabeth had diſobliged the hugonots there, by her ſhyneſs to truſt them, or to admit them into any of her military, or other

conſultations.

conſultations. Her miniſters, of the greateſt experience, had impreſſed her with a notion, which was true, in fact, that every native of France, whether hugonot or Roman catholic, was a Frenchman in his heart, and would declare againſt her, as ſoon as their own turns were ſerved, and a quarrel between her and their court ſhould become national. The prince of Condé was ſtill a priſoner, had ſhewn ſtrong inclinations for an accommodation, and by his irreſolution had forfeited Elizabeth's eſteem. She had a better opinion of admiral Coligni; but Smith, whom ſhe had joined with Throgmorton, aſſured her, that in caſe of an accommodation between the queen-mother and the hugonots, the admiral would be the firſt to march at the head of the French, and drive the Engliſh out of Normandy. A. D. 1563.

Affairs of France,

The queen-mother was diſpoſed to an accommodation with the hugonots; but neither party knew in what manner Elizabeth, who was then in poſſeſſion of Havre, was to be indemnified for her great expences. As Mary had offered her mediation, Elizabeth accepted of it; and Ledington accordingly repaired to France. When he arrived there, he found, that upon the death of the duke of Guiſe, Mary's jointure had been ſtopt; that the Scotch guards had been caſhiered; and that the appointments of their nobility had been ſtruck off. Maitland, inſtead of adviſing his miſtreſs to unite with Elizabeth,

A. D. 1563. Elizabeth, had acquired ſo bad an opinion of the latter, that he counſelled Mary to leave nothing to her friendſhip or generoſity, but to attach herſelf to the French court. It is difficult to ſay, whether this advice, which afterwards proved ſo pernicious to Mary, proceeded from corruption, or was dictated by a too great refinement in politics. It appears from the ſtate diſpatches ſtill extant, that after Maitland had obtained ſome audiences of the queen-mother, the French court ſhrunk in the conceſſions they had already made towards Elizabeth. Smith, in a letter to Cecil, wiſhes, Dated March 7. "that Ledington had ſtill kept at Edinburgh, and not have intermeddled himſelf with Engliſh matters." He obſerves, "that nothing but his intermeddling could prevent Elizabeth's obtaining, nay extorting almoſt what terms ſhe pleaſed; but that ever ſince the day of Ledington's audience at the French court, he had perceived a remarkable coldneſs and drawing back in their propoſitions." It appears from other papers, that the king of Spain had a conſiderable ſhare in perſuading Mary not to depend upon Elizabeth; and that he never had loſt ſight of the propoſed marriage between his eldeſt ſon and Mary.

where the queen-mother careſſes Mary. The queen-mother omitted nothing that could apologize to Mary for what had paſſed; and made her all the reparation that was in her, or her ſon's, power. The friendſhip of Scotland

land was, at this time, of ſuch conſequence to all the contending parties in Europe, that even the prince of Condé, after Maitland's arrival at the French court, acquainted Elizabeth, that a peace was as good as concluded between the hugonots and the queen-mother; and both parties ſoon after joined in retaking Havre from the Engliſh, and driving them out of France. This ungrateful conduct of the hugonots touched Elizabeth to the quick; and ſhe, this ſummer, loſt Havre, with the large ſums of money ſhe had advanced to the prince of Condé and his party. Elizabeth perceiving that ſhe was treated by Mary with leſs conſideration than formerly, had recourſe to a maſter-ſtroke in politics. She ordered her agent, Mount, to apply to the duke of Wirtemberg; and to engage him to renew the negotiation for a marriage, which had been formerly propoſed between herſelf and the very archduke who was deſtined by the cardinal of Lorrain to be Mary's huſband. Mount, at firſt, found ſome difficulty, on account of the emperor's reſentment for Elizabeth having already broken off the negotiation; but he acted with ſo much addreſs and perſeverance, that he actually brought the duke of Wirtemberg to renew the conferences; and every thing was even ſettled, excepting the beſtowing upon the archduke the matrimonial crown, which A.D. 1563.

A. D. 1563. Elizabeth pretended could not be diſpoſed of without the conſent of her parliament.

Diſſimulation of Elizabeth.

It is evident that Elizabeth, by renewing this treaty of marriage, had nothing in view but to diſappoint Mary of a huſband, in which ſhe perfectly ſucceeded. Randolph acted his part ſo well, that he took care to give the Scotch nobility about Mary's perſon, the moſt frightful ideas of her marriage with the archduke. In June, Elizabeth ordered Randolph to preſent to Mary his letters of recall to England. By this time, Maitland was expected in Scotland, where Elizabeth had obtained a complete aſcendency among Mary's counſellors, and particularly with the earl of Murray, who continued ſtill to be at the head of her affairs. Mary was then thoroughly ſenſible of Murray's connections with Elizabeth, as well as with Knox, and the other heads of the congregation, who thought they had no ſafety but in abridging her prerogative. She had not ventured to conſult Murray upon her marriage with the archduke of Auſtria; and that nobleman was now ſo much in Elizabeth's intereſt, that Randolph adviſed Cecil to ſend all ſuſpected letters that were intercepted in England relating to Mary, unopened to the earl of Murray. Maitland had returned to Scotland about the end of June; and Elizabeth had recalled Randolph only to ſatisfy herſelf minutely

nutely about the affairs of Scotland, and to give him a freſh ſet of inſtructions of a pretty extraordinary nature. As they have come to our hands, the reader will naturally expect ſome account of them here. A.D. 1563.

The introductory part is general; and, as uſual, filled with warm, though unmeaning, profeſſions of friendſhip. Elizabeth then totally condemns Mary's propoſal of marriage with the archduke (though ſhe was in a manner courting that prince at this very time); and ſhe ſhrewdly gives Mary to underſtand, that ſhe muſt forfeit her friendſhip, if ſhe continues to be under the direction of her enemy, the cardinal of Lorrain. She then intimates, that if ſhe perſeveres in her reſolution to marry a foreign prince, ſhe muſt endanger her ſucceſſion to the crown of England. Randolph was next to inform her, that ſhe will favour that ſucceſſion, and the declaration of it, provided Mary will take her (Elizabeth's) advice in marriage. Her propoſals

Mary took time to conſider of Randolph's propoſals, which ſhe communicated to Murray and Maitland. We can ſcarcely queſtion that ſhe received them with indignation; but ſhe was under a neceſſity of treating them with the greateſt decency, and even ſeeming to comply with their purpoſe. Randolph made his report accordingly to Elizabeth; but that diſcerning princeſs thought ſhe diſcovered a re- are received with indignation.

A. D. 1563. ſerve and coldneſs in Mary's anſwers; and therefore Randolph was furniſhed with a new ſet of inſtructions, and with a ring, which he was to preſent Mary from Elizabeth, as a laſting memorial of her friendſhip and affection to her ſiſter queen. Mary, who was then indiſpoſed, received and wore the ring with the moſt profound expreſſions of regard for Elizabeth. She was no ſooner recovered, than Randolph was admitted to an audience. The principal end of his inſtructions was to repeat Elizabeth's diſapprobation of Mary matching with any foreign prince, and to point out the idea of ſuch a match as would be moſt agreeable to Elizabeth; but without naming any particular perſon. "Therein (ſays Elizabeth in her inſtructions) we do promiſe her, that if ſhe will give us juſt cauſe to think, that ſhe will in the choice of her marriage ſhew herſelf conformable to this our opinion declared, we will thereupon further proceed to the inquiſition of her right by all good means in her furtherance, and ſhall be content to give ear to any thing that ſhall be thought meet by her and her council to be declared in her favour: And if we ſhall find the matter to fall out in her behalf, then upon plain knowledge had with whom ſhe ſhall match in marriage, we will proceed to the declaration of her right, as we might do for our natural ſiſter or daughter."

Though

Though Elizabeth had, from an exceſs of delicacy, avoided all mention of the perſon whom ſhe recommended to Mary as a huſband, yet Randolph made no ſecret that ſhe meant the lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leiceſter, and brother to the earl of Warwick, who had ſo bravely, though ineffectually, defended Havre. When the earl of Murray was conſulted, by Randolph, about this match, he expreſſed himſelf in favour of it; but though he uſed more freedom with Mary than any other nobleman did, he would not undertake to recommend ſuch a man as the lord Robert was, to her as a huſband. We can ſcarcely, however, ſuppoſe, that Mary was ignorant that Dudley was the man. She received ſeveral letters from France, and from the queen-mother in particular, with the moſt extravagant promiſes of friendſhip and aſſiſtance, if ſhe would reject a marriage ſo very unſuitable to her rank and expectations. But it muſt be acknowledged that at this time ſhe was in a deplorable ſituation. The reformed mob, afreſh inſtigated by Knox, had committed repeated inſults againſt her Roman catholic ſervants at Holyrood-houſe; and it was with difficulty that a prieſt who was performing maſs privately, ſaved himſelf by a back-door from being torn in pieces by their fury. Mary was then at Loch-leven, and reſented thoſe inſults ſo greatly, that ſhe refuſed to return to Edinburgh

A.D. 1561.

Violence of the Reformed in Scotland.

A. D. 1563. burgh till the offenders were brought to juſtice; and ordered Knox to attend her, which he accordingly did.

inſtigated by Knox, who is acquitted by the clergy,

In converſing with him, ſhe ſoon diſcovered, that the outrages ſhe complained of, did not proceed from the haſty ungovernable zeal of the delinquents; but that Knox had laid it down as a capital maxim with his party, that they had a right to puniſh prieſts with death, wherever they could be found ſaying maſs. The reader in the notes * will find the reſult of the converſation, which laſted two hours, between the queen and Knox, who ſeem to have parted with little mutual ſatisfaction. It is doing no more than juſtice to the proteſtant nobility in Scotland, when I obſerve, that they were far from approving either of Knox's behaviour or principles; and there ſeems, at this time, to have been a ſeparation between them and the clergy. In the next general aſſembly that met this year, I find the names of the duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Morton, Glencairn, and Mariſchal, ſecretary Maitland,

* She aſked him, Will ye allow that they ſhall take my ſword in their hand? To this he anſwered, That the ſword of juſtice was God's ſword, and that if princes made not the right uſe of it, the rulers under them that fear God ought to do it. And to prove this he told her, that Samuel ſpared not to ſlay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom Saul had ſaved; neither ſpared Elias Jezebel's falſe prophets, and Baal's falſe prieſts, albeit that king Ahab was preſent. Phineas was no magiſtrate, and yet he feared not to ſtrike Zimri and Cozbi in the very act of filthy fornication; for he no ways doubted but they were as much guided by the ſpirit of God as any of theſe were. Knox.

Sir

Sir John Wiſhart of Pitarrow, comptroller, and Sir John Bannetym of Auchnoul, juſtice-clerk, beſides biſhops, ſuperintendents, miniſters, commiſſioners, barons, burgeſſes, and gentlemen in a great number. The preachers complained heavily in this aſſembly of their poor proviſions; and that the greateſt part of the thirds paid to the queen was applied to maintain her new body-guard, or to pay penſions to papiſts. In anſwer to thoſe complaints, the miniſters of ſtate ſaid, that as the preachers had ſeparated themſelves from them, and ſtood upon their own footing, they muſt depend upon themſelves for redreſs. This produced a very intereſting debate between the two orders. Knox, at firſt, kept a profound ſilence; but being called upon to ſpeak, he appealed to the aſſembly, whether he had not been in the way of his duty, as laid down by themſelves, in giving public notice of all prieſts and frequenters of maſs? "The danger (ſaid he) which appeared in my accuſation was not ſo fearfull as the words which come to my eares war dolorous to my heart; for theſe words war plainlie ſpoken, and that by ſome profeſſors, What can the pope doe more than ſend forth his letters, and command them to be obeyed? Lett me have your judgements therefore, whether I have uſurped anie power to myſelf, or have onlie obeyed your commandement?" The aſſembly did not fail to juſtify Knox in all he A. D. 1563.

A.D. 1563. he had done; and thus the courtiers, or (as they are called in the record) the queen's placebos, were diſappointed in their aim; for they had promiſed her to bring Knox under eccleſiaſtical cenſures; but to underſtand this tranſaction the better, it is neceſſary to have here ſome retroſpect.

and by the civil power. The conference between the queen and Knox at Lochleven proving abortive, Mary inſiſted upon his being called before the privy-council, and tried for having iſſued circular letters for all his proteſtant brethren to aſſemble at Edinburgh, and to be preſent at the trials of two rioters who had been concerned in the late tumults. As the aſſembling ſubjects in a body, without lawful authority, was an act of treaſon, the council reſolved to proſecute Knox. But this muſt be done in the ordinary way of juſtice, and he happened to be tried by the very judges and jury who were the chief agents in the treaſon of which he was accuſed. He was unanimouſly acquitted; and even the biſhop of Roſs, a papiſt, who was preſident of the ſeſſion, and a lord of the juſticiary, concurred in the verdict.

1564. Mary from this, and many other appearances, plainly ſaw, that her authority was now divided between her miniſters of ſtate and the preachers. She had loſt her chief foreign ſupport in the perſon of the duke of Guiſe. The emperor, for the reaſons I have already mentioned,

mentioned, was cool in his propoſal of her marriage with the archduke; and ſhe was touched to the quick with the affront intended her by Elizabeth, in propoſing the lord Robert Dudley to her for a huſband. It was not till the twentieth of March this year, that Randolph, by Elizabeth's orders, ventured to name that nobleman to Mary as a huſband. It is next to certain, that Elizabeth did not in reality intend this match ſhould take place; as ſhe had given lord Robert, who was one of the handſomeſt, though one of the moſt worthleſs, of her ſubjects, proofs, that could be by no means equivocal, of her own affection for his perſon. The Scotch nobility, in converſing upon the ſubject with Randolph, treated the propoſal in a ludicrous light; and though Mary diſcovered no marks of reſentment at Elizabeth, yet ſhe told Randolph, that by marrying a perſon ſo much inferior in rank to herſelf, ſhe muſt tranſgreſs one of Elizabeth's repeated advices to her, that ſhe ſhould reſpect herſelf. With regard to the bait which Elizabeth had thrown out to her, of declaring the ſucceſſion in her favour, it could be of very little conſequence, as Elizabeth was a young woman, and probably would have children of her own, and as one parliament might undo what another had done. She propoſed, however, that Murray, Argyle, and Maitland, ſhould have a conference with the earl of Bed-

A. D. 1564.

Lord Robert Dudley named as a huſband to Mary,

A.D. 1564. ford, and other Engliſh commiſſioners upon the borders. I perceive that about this time the emperor had probably diſcovered Elizabeth's duplicity in renewing the treaty of marriage with the archduke, whom he again offered in marriage to Mary, with a much larger ſum than he had before propoſed, by the mediation of the cardinal of Lorrain.

whoſe ſucceſſion is oppoſed in England.

As ſoon as it was known in England that conferences were to be opened for ſettling the ſucceſſion to that crown, one Hales, a lawyer, wrote a treatiſe to prove the right which the Suffolk family had, in preference to Mary, or any other competitor. The title of the book was, "A Declaration of the Succeſſion of the Crown Imperial of England;" but though it has been ſince printed, its contents diſcover the author to have been poſſeſſed of no great compaſs either of law or learning. As he had made free with Elizabeth's name, on account of her ſeverity towards the earl of Hertford, he was committed to priſon, as were ſeveral of his employers; and it was diſcovered, that Hales had been for ſome time tampering with the foreign univerſities to have their opinions on the ſubject of his book. Cecil and Sir John Maſon were for laying it before the judges; but Elizabeth reſerved the cognizance of it to herſelf, hinting, that ſhe would order commiſſioners to enquire into the matter, and lay the report before her, without its going through

through the common courts of law. As lady Catharine Gray's pretenſions were by no means formidable, and as ſhe and her huſband were then priſoners in the Tower, and under Elizabeth's diſpleaſure, the friends of the houſe of Lenox publicly mentioned the iſſue of Henry the ſeventh's eldeſt daughter, as having a prior right even to the queen of Scots herſelf, becauſe the lady Margaret Douglas, counteſs of Lenox, ſtood one degree nearer to the royal blood of England than Mary did. This plea, though indefenſible, was far ſtronger than that of the Suffolk family, and found many friends in England, though I do not perceive that it ever was favoured either by the earl or counteſs of Lenox. A. D. 1564.

Elizabeth, though jealous even to a degree of tyranny in every point relating to her ſucceſſion, diſcovered great coldneſs in proſecuting Hales, which occaſioned Mary (who no doubt thought her ſucceſſion in danger) to enter into a ſecret correſpondence with Lenox, that by making his ſon lord Darnley, her huſband, ſhe might ſtrengthen her party in England. So early as the twenty-ſecond of May, Randolph had intelligence of this intercourſe between Mary and the earl of Lenox, whoſe pretext for repairing to Scotland was, that he might obtain a review and reverſal of his ſentence of forfeiture. Randolph hinted to Cecil, that Lenox ought, by all means, to be

Elizabeth recommends Lenox to Mary.

A. D. 1564. ſtopt from proceeding on his journey; and Elizabeth wrote to Mary to the ſame effect. It happened that, but a few days before, Elizabeth had wrote to Mary in ſtrong terms in favour of the earl of Lenox, and for reverſing his forfeiture. When Mary afterwards objected to this inconſiſtency, ſhe pretended that ſhe recommended the earl of Lenox only on account of his private affairs; and that Mary had acted with duplicity in treating with him for a marriage with his ſon.

The lord Robert Dudley was ſoon after created earl of Leiceſter; and Mary reſolved to employ Mr. Melvil (afterwards Sir James) at the court of England, to ſound Elizabeth's real intentions.

Mary's virtuous government.

It appears from Randolph's diſpatches to Cecil, though not from any contemporary Scotch hiſtorian, that Mary applied herſelf with indefatigable care, at this time, to the internal government of her kingdom. She appointed three days a week for expediting the cauſes of her poorer ſubjects. She encreaſed the ſalaries of her judges, on account of their additional attendance; and ſhe often preſided in courts of equity in perſon. She ſigned inſtructions with her own hand for the more ſpeedy adminiſtration of juſtice, eſpecially in thoſe courts that had been eſtabliſhed in place of the conſiſtory, or the courts which had formerly belonged to biſhops. She continued to treat Elizabeth

zabeth with the greateſt ſhow of affection, A. D. 1564.
though it was at this time cooled. Her proteſtant ſubjects had nothing to complain of; and if ſhe diſcovered any animoſity towards Knox, it was only that he might be ſent out of her dominions, for his treaſonable practices. Melvil, in his Memoirs *, has given us a copy Dated Sept. 28.
of his inſtructions, by which it appears that there had been a diſcontinuance, for two months, of all correſpondence between Elizabeth and Mary; and that the latter ſuſpected Elizabeth's affections towards her were cooled. Elizabeth, after ſome altercation with Melvil, concerning an angry letter ſhe had received from Mary, ſeemed entirely appeaſed; and upon Melvil's making an apology, tore before his face the letter complained of. She recommended the lord Robert Dudley in the warmeſt terms for a huſband to Mary; and declared that ſhe would herſelf have married him, had ſhe ever minded to have taken a huſband; but that being determined to end her life in virginity, ſhe wiſhed that the queen her ſiſter would marry him. At the ſame time, ſhe

* Theſe Memoirs were publiſhed by one George Scot in 1683, a hundred years after the tranſactions mentioned in them happened. Their ſtile ſeems to have been modernized; nor am I quite ſatisfied with the account which the editor gives of their preſervation, diſcovery, and publication. They have, however, hitherto paſſed as genuine; and, in the main, they undoubtedly are ſo. I ſhall in the courſe of this hiſtory give my reaſons if I ſhould be of opinion that ſome part of them are otherwiſe.

could

A. D. 1564. could not conceal her own fondneſs for his perſon; for, according to Melvil, ſhe even reprimanded him for having, in converſation, mentioned the earl of Bedford's name before that of lord Robert. In a day or two after, when ſhe created him earl of Leiceſter, ſhe aſſiſted in putting on his robes; and even tickled his neck with her fingers, while he was ſitting gravely before her on his knees. That Elizabeth knew of Mary's inclination for the lord Darnley can hardly be doubted, from her pointing to him, (for he that day carried the ſword of ſtate) and telling Melvil, that he liked better of yonder long (tall) lad than of her favourite. Melvil, like an expert courtier, anſwered, "That no woman of ſpirit would make choice of ſuch a man, who more reſembled a woman than a man; for he was handſome, beardleſs, and lady-faced."

Lord Robert created earl of Leiceſter.

Though I have given thoſe facts upon the credit of Melvil's Memoirs, yet if they are genuine they muſt be very inaccurate. The author pretends, that his inſtructions were dated the twenty-eighth of September; whereas it is certain, from the peerage of England, and other evidences, that the very next day being Michaelmas, Dudley's creation, as earl of Leiceſter, took place; not to mention that Randolph, on the fourth of October, received new inſtructions, in which mention is made of Melvil's having obtained an audience of Elizabeth. Tho' the

Caution about Melvil's Memoirs.

the behaviour of that princeſs towards Dudley, at the time of his creation, has hitherto paſſed current among hiſtorians, yet it ſeems to have been too indecent and too indelicate even for Elizabeth, upon ſo public and ſo critical an occaſion. A. D. 1564.

When Lenox came to Mary's court, which he did in September, this year, he preſented her with a letter of recommendation from Elizabeth. Mary had now finiſhed her hunting ſeaſon, by making a progreſs through the more northern parts of her dominions; and ſhe anſwered Elizabeth's letters, (which ſeem, indeed, only to regard Lenox's reſtitution to his eſtates) with the greateſt reſpect and politeneſs. Soon after this, Randolph arrived in Scotland, furniſhed with the inſtructions I have already mentioned. They are ſtill extant in Cecil's hand; but contain nothing material, except ſome oblique reproaches to Mary, in the affair of the earl of Lenox, which Elizabeth terms a comedy; but ſhe ſays, that it had almoſt ended like a tragedy. She cloſes the whole with an intimation, that ſhe was ready to give orders for opening the conferences at Berwick concerning Mary's marriage, and adjuſting her right to the ſucceſſion. Mary appeared to be in no hurry about the conferences; but was far from declining them; and, in the mean time, ſhe ſent one Walſh, as an agent into England, to try the ſtrength of the Roman catholic party there,

Correſpondence between Mary and Elizabeth.

Dated October 4.

A. D. 1564. there, and to ſound them upon her ſucceſſion. His buſineſs came to the knowledge of the Engliſh miniſtry, and occaſioned ſeveral ſharp altercations between Randolph and Maitland.

Earl of Lenox careſſed by Mary. The earl of Lenox appeared to great advantage at Mary's court; and ſhe did all ſhe could to prevent the old quarrel between him and the duke of Chatleheraut from being revived. He made preſents of jewels to all Mary's miniſters, excepting Murray, who was every day now declining in her eſteem. That nobleman had declared himſelf an enemy to Mary's match with Leiceſter; but did not ſeem to favour that with Darnley. Mary had probably received ſome intimation of his high credit with Cecil, and her other enemies at the Engliſh court; and whatever appearance there was of a coldneſs between him and Knox, ſhe was ſenſible that his not exerting himſelf againſt that preacher, was the chief cauſe of all the mortifications and affronts ſhe had endured. As to Maitland, he made no ſecret of his being utterly averſe to Mary's matching with Leiceſter; and publicly declared, that the behaviour of Elizabeth to that favourite (which, at this time, he might underſtand from Melvil) afforded ſtrong ſuſpicion of Elizabeth preſſing the marriage, only that if Mary ſhould conſent to it, he might appear more worthy of her own bed.

Congreſs at Berwick. After ſeveral delays it was agreed, that Murray and Maitland ſhould meet with the earl of Bedford

Bedford and Randolph, at Berwick, to treat of the marriage. This meaſure probably was ſuggeſted to Mary by Maitland; that the Engliſh miniſters having loſt all hopes of perſuading Mary to accept of Leiceſter for a huſband might, of themſelves, propoſe Darnley, whom the queen had not as yet mentioned as deſtined for that honour. Randolph eaſily perceived this to be their intention, and very freely laid before Elizabeth the ſentiments of the Scotch court, concerning the marriage with Leiceſter, as I have repreſented them. The meeting at Berwick took place on the eighteenth of November; and here Maitland had a full opportunity of diſplaying his acknowledged ſuperiority of parts over the other ſtateſmen. He unravelled all Elizabeth's inſidious plans, in offering Leiceſter as a huſband to his miſtreſs; and ſhewed, "that nothing more was offered with Leiceſter, but, in general terms to ſay, that great good would enſue to both the realms; and that as the queen's majeſty, your miſtreſs, had begun to advance him, ſo ſhe will go farther, as ſhe may perceive good liking of him from thence: This importeth nothing elſe but a deſire in your miſtreſs that ours ſhould not marry great, and herſelf to be at liberty to do what ſhe will, and diſpoſe of our miſtreſs as ſhe liſteth; for plainly I muſt ſay, that my L. Robert, as only earl of Leiceſter, is no fit match for our ſovereign, nor in that reſpect her honour ſo conſidered as

A. D. 1564.

Letter from the earl of Bedford and Randolph to Elizabeth, dated Nov. 23.

A. D. 1564. friendly and ſiſterly, as it ought to be." The above are the words of Maitland, as repreſented by Randolph. The latter, in anſwer, proceeded in general terms; and to ſhew that Mary's accepting of Leiceſter for a huſband would conciliate the favour of Elizabeth, ſaid, that he was a more unexceptionable match than any foreign prince. The Engliſh embaſſadors carefully avoided all mention of lord Darnley, tho' Maitland gave them a fair opening. He required them to name an Engliſh ſubject as a match for their miſtreſs; and declared that he loved Leiceſter as well as any other; but that the objection he had to him was, that he was not a king. Maitland then propoſed, that if Mary ſhould chuſe a huſband from any country not excepted to by Elizabeth, the latter ſhould ſettle upon her a penſion, and aſcertain her right of ſucceſſion. He obſerved, that if ſuch a preliminary was agreed to, it might go far in fixing Mary's marriage in favour of Leiceſter: nay, they promiſed, in ſuch an event, to favour Leiceſter's pretenſions. The Engliſh commiſſioners, who in reaſoning and eloquence were no matches for Maitland, mentioned the precarious ſtate of Mary's ſucceſſion; but Murray declared, "That there was nothing more needful for their miſtreſs than to have theſe matters put out of doubt; and that ſhe could not long remain in theſe terms, to be in an aſſured friendſhip with no man. Their advice was to their

ſovereign," that ſhe ſhould marry; the people craved it at her hands; her eſtate required it; and they the more earneſt to preſs her to it, becauſe ſome envious men have ſpread abroad, that they would not that ſhe ſhould marry, that they alone might have the government: wherefore they warned and aſſured us, that if it took not effect in England ſhortly, it muſt needs do elſewhere." Thus thoſe conferences broke off without much ſatisfaction to either party, farther than that each found the other inſincere. A.D. 1564. ineffectual.

Leiceſter, during this period, was himſelf in a diſagreeable ſituation. He knew Elizabeth too well to believe that ſhe would make him her huſband; and he muſt ruin himſelf in her affections, if he ſhould diſcover any forwardneſs for his match with Mary, however flattering it was to his ambition. Elizabeth, on the other hand, could not but be pleaſed that Mary had fixed her mind upon a ſubject of England for her huſband; and that by her intrigues ſhe had driven her ſiſter-queen from all thoughts of matching with a foreign prince. She was in hopes that Lenox's eſtate and dependencies in England would render herſelf miſtreſs of the match; and ſhe found her views for perplexing and delaying it, (which was all ſhe meant) as well anſwered in the perſon of Darnley as of Leiceſter. The viſible preference given to the earl of Lenox by Mary, continued to Prudence of Mary.

A. D. 1564. excite the jealouſy of the Hamilton family, who ſued to Elizabeth for her protection; and ſome of the other Scotch noblemen likewiſe diſliked the match with Darnley. The family of Angus, the head of which was a minor earl, the earl of Morton, and the Douglaſſes in general, were particularly intereſted in oppoſing it, becauſe of the claim which the counteſs of Lenox, as the only ſurviving child of the laſt earl of Angus, had upon that eſtate. Mary very wiſely prevailed upon Lenox and his wife to drop that claim, and to ſuffer the eſtate and honours to continue to the heirs male, by which ſhe removed very conſiderable impediments to her marriage.

Lenox reſtored by parliament.

In December this year, the Scotch parliament met. The repeal of Lenox's attainder was thought to be the chief buſineſs of the aſſembly. That repeal accordingly took place; and I perceive from Randolph's diſpatches, that Mary was particularly ſollicitous to prevent any oppoſition from Murray, whoſe title and eſtate was confirmed to him in the ſame parliament. Several acts paſſed likewiſe in favour of the leading proteſtants; and the celebration of maſs, excepting in the queen's chapel, was rendered capital, with the forfeiture of goods and lands. Mary, as uſual, opened this parliament with a ſpeech, in which ſhe did not fail to declare that ſhe conſented to the repeal of Lenox's

nox's forfeiture, at the requeſt and ſuit of her ſiſter of England. A.D. 1564.

No ſooner was Mary's intention known in favour of the Lenox family, than the counteſs of Lenox aſked Elizabeth leave for her ſon to repair to Scotland, to participate with his father in the joy of their being repoſſeſſed of their eſtates and honours. Elizabeth, who had never yet received any formal declaration from Mary of her intended match with Darnley, had many reaſons for not oppoſing his journey; and yet it does not appear that ſhe actually gave her conſent. All that can be ſaid is, that Darnley, as had been concerted between Mary and his father, ſet out incognito for Scotland; but no ſooner was his arrival known there, than Elizabeth ordered his mother to be put under arreſt. This was a ſtate policy peculiar to that great princeſs, that ſhe might ſtill, as ſhe had done in the caſe of Lenox, object to the marriage, though ſhe had ſollicited the repeal of the attainder. But Elizabeth, by this time, had her private reaſons for wiſhing that Mary ſhould match with Darnley. The king of Sweden, the prince of Spain, the archduke of Auſtria, the prince of Condé, and the duke of Orleans, were renewing their ſeveral ſuits for her hand in marriage; and her uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain, was intereſting himſelf more than ever to prevail with her to marry a foreign prince. But a ſtill greater perſonage now

Darnley departs for Scotland.

1565.

pre-

A. D. 1565. preſented himſelf in the perſon of the young king of France, who had applied, by D'Oyſſel for a diſpenſation at the court of Rome to marry his brother's widow.

The French king courts Mary,

It muſt be acknowledged that Mary's diſſimulation, at this time, equalled that of her ſiſter Elizabeth. She was afraid that the duke of Chatleheraut and the earl of Murray might head a party for renewing the treaty of Berwick with Elizabeth, eſpecially after it was known that the earl of Lenox and his ſon profeſſed the catholic religion. She therefore affected a great complaiſance towards Elizabeth; and even ſo late as the fifth of February this year, when Randolph preſented her with a letter from Elizabeth requiring her final reſolution as to her marriage, her anſwer was, "That if the queen (Elizabeth) will uſe her as her born ſiſter or daughter, ſhe will obey as a ſiſter; but if not, ſhe muſt not look to be ſo far ruled by her: for my mind, continues ſhe to my lord Robert, is as it ought to be to a noble gentleman, and ſuch an one as your miſtreſs would marry, if he were not her ſubject; but in it your miſtreſs may rule me if ſhe pleaſe."

who falls in love with Darnley.

Mary was at the houſe of Wemys, on a progreſs ſhe was making into Fife, when ſhe firſt ſaw Darnley. Whatever ſentiments of ambition or policy ſhe might have entertained before this time, they ſeem now to have vaniſhed before thoſe of love. His age was not above twenty;

twenty; his ſtature exceeded ſix feet; and Sir James Melvil ſays, that the queen declared him to be the propereſt and beſt proportioned tall man ſhe had ever ſeen; for (adds Melvil) he was long and ſmall, even and ſtrait. His face was beautiful even to effeminacy; and, in ſhort, he was ſuch as Mary's ideas had figured out to her for a huſband. The effects of his appearance were almoſt inſtantaneous; and Mary reſolved to ſend Ledington once more as her embaſſador to the courts of England and France, to reconcile them to her marriage with the man on whom ſhe had abſolutely placed her affections. She now blamed her uncle, the cardinal, for intermeddling ſo officiouſly in the affair of her marriage. Ledington arrived at London on the eighteenth of April; and Elizabeth referred him for an anſwer to her privy-council, who diſſuaded Elizabeth from agreeing to the propoſed marriage, in the terms which the reader will find in the notes *; a copy of A. D. 1565.

* A determination of the privy-council of England, upon the marriage for the queen of Scots, May 1, 1565.

The queen's majeſty having underſtood from her good ſiſter, the queen of Scots, by her principal ſecretary, the lord of Ledington, that the queen, his miſtreſs, continuing in her former intention to require the advice of the queen's majeſty in her marriage; and having for her ſake, as he ſaith, foreborn to hearken to the matching with any foreign prince, hath thought meet to ſend him hither to underſtand her majeſty's mind in a matter moved to the queen, his miſtreſs, for a marriage with the lord Darnley, what her majeſty liketh thereof; and further, to let her majeſty underſtand, that if the queen, his miſtreſs, may have her majeſty's good-will and aſſent thereto, ſhe could incline herſelf to the ſame. Hereupon, although her majeſty, at the firſt,

A. D. 1565. which Throgmorton was ordered immediately to carry to Scotland, to be laid before Mary.

firſt, found this matter very ſtrange and unlikely on the part, as well of her ſiſter, as on the part of the parents of the lord Darnley himſelf, being her majeſty's ſubjects, and ſo much bound to her and the crown of England, as none could be more; yet her majeſty thought it very fit to communicate this meſſage to her privy-council, and to underſtand their advices in the ſame; and to this intent, the counſellors, whoſe names be underwritten, were made privy to the meſſage abovementioned, and to all other circumſtances thereunto conveniently belonging.

And after ſundry conferences and long deliberations, and many arguments among themſelves, they all, with one aſſent and judgment, thought this marriage of my lord Darnley, being attended with ſuch circumſtances as therein do appear, to be unmeet, unprofitable, and directly prejudicial to the ſincere amity between both the queens, and conſequently perilous to the continuance of the mutual good, concord, and tranquillity, that at preſent is known to be, and were to be earneſtly deſired on both parts, to be made perpetual betwixt both the realms: and therefore the ſaid counſellors did, for further advice therein, think meet, that if the proceeding in this intended marriage with the lord Darnley ſhould depend upon the queen's majeſty's aſſent, ſhe ſhould do well not to accord thereunto; but according to the proceſſion of the ſincere amity that is betwixt their majeſties, and in reſpect of the continuance of the common tranquillity, ſhould move her to forbear from this, as a thing plainly prejudicial to them both, and conſequently dangerous to the weal of both their countries, and offer unto her a free election of any other of the nobility, either in this whole realm or iſle, or in any other place, being ſuitable to her place, and agreeable to both the realms; and therein alſo for her ſatisfaction to yield unto her as much friendſhip and benefit, as upon further conference might be deviſed to be; firſt, as honourable as this is that is intended; and ſecondly, more commodious to both the princes, and more profitable and plauſibly to the nobility and common people of both the realms.

Wherein the ſaid counſellors (thinking the like of the reſt of the nobility, and ſage men of the realm) did, for their parts, according to their moſt bounden duties, humbly offer unto her majeſty, that whatſoever ſhould ſeem meet, and would be adviſed for the queen of Scots, with ſome other meeter marriage, being agreeable to the honour of God, and juſtice, and convenient

He was, at the ſame time, furniſhed by Elizabeth with additional arguments to perſuade Mary to break off the match. A. D. 1565.

Elizabeth choſe Throgmorton for this purpoſe, againſt the opinion of Cecil, and her other miniſters, who were jealous of his abilities, and had repreſented him to her as ſecretly favouring the Scotch queen's right to the ſucceſſion. He had, however, given ſuch proofs of his firmneſs, ſagacity, and attachment to his ſovereign, that Elizabeth knew he would decline his commiſſion, if he diſliked it. He accepted of it readily; and Maitland, who had not expected ſo vigorous an oppoſition to his propoſal, or that ſo able a miniſter as Throgmorton would be employed to counteract it, ventured to return to Scotland, where he thought he could do his miſtreſs more ſervice than by proceeding to France. The two embaſſadors travelled to Scotland in company together, where Throgmorton ſent to Scotland,

nient to maintain the concord and amity already begun between the two realms, the ſame ſhould be allowed with their advices, and furthered with their ſervices at all times, when her majeſty ſhould command them, according to their moſt humble and loyal duties: whereupon they do firmly truſt, that if the matter may be firmly thought upon and conſidered by wiſe and good men on both parts, good ſucceſs may enſue, to the honour and comfort of both the princes, and to the eſtabliſhing of a perpetual concord, peace, and tranquillity betwixt the two nations. Primo Maii, 1565. Anno ſeptimo Elizabethæ reginæ. Wincheſter, Norfolk, Pembroke, E. Clinton, E. Rogers, F. Knolles, William Petre, John Maſone, Ry. Cakebyle, Edward Derby, W. Howard, W. Cecil.

A. D. 1565. they found public affairs in the utmoſt confuſion, and threatening a national combuſtion.

where Lenox and Darnley arrive. This was occaſioned by the return of Lenox to Scotland, and the arrival of Darnley. The duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Murray and Argyle, with other lay heads of the Reformation, looked upon the great favour Lenox was in with Mary, as portending their ruin, and that of their religion. They informed Randolph that their great dependence lay upon Elizabeth once more for deliverance; and to encourage her to interpoſe, they began to ſtrengthen their party ſo as to bid defiance to their popiſh adverſaries, if they ſhould attempt any alterations. The earl of Lenox appears to have been a man of no deep, or bright, parts; and his ſon's intellects were ſhallow even to contempt, though his being bred about the Engliſh court had given him a decent and polite air. Lenox, inſtead of moderating matters with Chatleheraut, and the other congregationiſts, gave them great offence, by his open profeſſion of popery, and greater by his forming a party among the nobility, conſiſting of thoſe who were Roman catholics, or indifferent as to all matters of religion, or of broken fortunes, and ready to embark in any deſperate undertaking. The earls of Athol and Caithneſs, the lord Robert, the lord Hume and Ruthven, are particularly mentioned, though the latter was after-

afterwards capitally concerned in the moſt outrageous acts againſt Mary's perſon and government. A.D. 1565.

As to Mary herſelf, ſhe complained of Elizabeth having deluded her in the affair of her marriage; of her having trifled with her in ſettling the ſucceſſion; of her having dealt only in general terms, and endeavouring to keep herſelf looſe as to the performance of all her promiſes, until Mary ſhould fetter herſelf by marrying the man whom ſhe recommended. She complained of being betrayed by her own nobility; and treated the duke of Chatleheraut in ſuch a manner, that few of his friends or family came to court. Notwithſtanding the late ceſſion made by Lenox of the earldom of Angus, the family of Douglas ſhewed great uneaſineſs at the approaching match, which might overthrow all that had been done. In ſhort, Randolph thought Elizabeth's party to be ſo well eſtabliſhed in Scotland, "that (ſays he in one of his diſpatches to Cecil) contrary to my ſovereign's will, let them attempt, let them ſeek, or let them ſend to all the cardinals or devils in hell, it ſhall paſs their power to bring any thing to paſs." Reſentment of Mary. March 20.

Mary was at Stirling when Throgmorton came to Edinburgh, where Maitland left him, till he could apprize her of his arrival. In a converſation with Randolph, Throgmorton underſtood that Mary was that very day to Arrival of Throgmorton.

A.D. 1565. create Darnley duke of Albany; an honour to which he had ſome right by birth, independent of his marriage with Mary. Without farther ceremony Throgmorton poſted to Stirling. His arrival there was ſo ſudden, that he paſſed ſome time before the gates of the caſtle, till he was conducted to his lodging. He demanded an inſtant audience; but that could not be obtained till a few hours after. Before I proceed to what paſſed at this audience, it is neceſſary to continue the review of the ſtate of parties in Scotland at this time, which ſhall be chiefly extracted from the intelligence ſent by Randolph to Cecil, and the other Engliſh miniſters.

Mary's diſſimulation

Though Mary's paſſion for Darnley had even, in ſome reſpect, got the better of her prudence, yet ſhe had concealed it ſo artfully from Randolph, that he could not be perſuaded ſhe would marry him without Elizabeth's conſent; but Mary's perſonal attendance upon Darnley, when he fell ill of the meaſles, put her inclination beyond all diſpute. Among the noblemen whom Lenox thought would be ſubſervient to his purpoſes was the earl of Bothwell, who was then living an indigent exile in France, on account of his real or pretended plot againſt the Hamiltons and Murray. Though poor, he had a large following. He was thought not to be deſtitute of perſonal courage, and known to be fit for the moſt deſperate

perate undertaking. He had ſeveral times applied for leave to return home, as the proofs of his guilt were not very pregnant; but his ſuit had always been denied. On the day when, for non-appearance, he was to have been declared a rebel, the earls of Argyle and Murray, who were his declared enemies, marched into Edinburgh with five thouſand men; but the queen, to the aſtoniſhment of all her proteſtant nobility, ordered the juſtice-clerk to delay ſentence. Some days after, Mary ſent for Murray, and deſired him, with unuſual careſſes, to ſign a paper, approving of her marriage with Darnley, which he refuſed; and he left the court under Mary's diſpleaſure. According to one of Throgmorton's diſpatches, thirteen of the other nobility were prevailed upon to ſign the ſame paper, among whom was the duke of Chatleheraut, on a promiſe being made him that he ſhould be continued in the poſſeſſion of all his eſtates.

A. D. 1565.

and partiality for Bothwell.

Thoſe proceedings diſcover how violently Mary was now bent upon her marriage. She had ſent freſh inſtructions to Maitland, which he received on the road to Scotland, to talk more plainly than ever to Elizabeth, by informing her that ſhe was no longer to be impoſed upon; and that ſhe was reſolved, with the advice of her ſtates, to chuſe a huſband for herſelf. Notwithſtanding this diſpatch, Maitland proceeded northwards; but before his arrival

Darnley created earl of Roſs.

A. D. 1565. arrival at Edinburgh, Darnley had been created a knight, a banneret, lord of Ardmannach, and earl of Roſs; in conſequence of which he had made ſome knights in his own name; and, as I have already obſerved, he was to have been created duke of Albany the very day on which Throgmorton had his audience, which happened on the fifteenth of May.

Audience of Throgmorton.

When he was introduced to Mary by the lords Erſkine and Ruthven, two of the privy-counſellors, a convention of the nobility was then ſitting *, which had been called to deli-

* By the abſtracts of the privy-council, as well as Throgmorton's own letter, this convention was very full; for it conſiſted of the duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Morton, Murray, Glencairn, and Athol, the lords Erſkine, Ruthven, Maxwell of Teiregles, the ſecretary, the juſtice-clerk, the clerk-regiſter, the advocate and treaſurer, privy-counſellors; the earls of Crawford, Eglington, Caſſils, Rothes, Caithneſs, the lords Hume, Gray, Glamis, Borthwick, Yeſter, Fleming, Levingſton, Sempil, Roſs, Lindſay, Lovat, Boyd, Somervil, the maſter of Graham, and the maſter of Sinclair.

Mr. Keith cenſures Buchanan for ſaying, that Alexander lord Ochiltree was the only member of the convention who oppoſed the queen's marriage with Darnley, becauſe that nobleman's name is not mentioned in the liſt of the convention. The reverend author might have obſerved, that this liſt is reſtricted to thoſe who met on a particular day; ſo that lord Ochiltree (whoſe ſiſter by the bye Knox had married) might have been preſent ſome prior or ſubſequent day. This is the more probable, as in another liſt (which was copied from the regiſter by Mr. Robert Milne, an excellent and accurate Scotch antiquary, but, I believe, the author of no publication) the following names are found: The commendators of Holyrood-houſe, Kilwinning, Jedburgh, St. Colm, and Balmerino. Mr. Milne obſerves, that this was the firſt time that commendators ſat in council after the queen's return from France.

The above reverend author obſerves likewiſe, that Buchanan ſays that Murray choſe to abſent himſelf from the convention. Perhaps

berate upon her marriage with Darnley, and which was unuſually numerous; for Throgmorton himſelf acknowledges that very few nobility of the realm were abſent. According to his own repreſentation of his firſt audience, which he ſent to queen Elizabeth, he made but a poor figure compared to Mary, who received him in full convention. He expreſſed the diſlike his miſtreſs had to the match with Darnley, both for the matter and the manner; and accuſed him and his parents of having failed in their duties, by their arrogant and preſumptuous attempts, without making Elizabeth, whoſe ſubjects they were, privy thereunto. A. D. 1565. Dated May 21.

Mary anſwered with great dignity, that ſhe had communicated her intended marriage to Elizabeth as ſoon as ſhe herſelf was determined as to the matter and manner, which was all ſhe had promiſed: That ſhe was aſtoniſhed at Elizabeth's diſliking the match, as Randolph had again and again declared to her, on the part of his miſtreſs, that provided ſhe did not marry into the families of Auſtria, France, or Spain, ſhe might take her choice of any perſon within the realms of England, Scotland, or any other country. She added, that the lord Darnley, on account of his conſanguinity both to her and Elizabeth, was ſo unexceptionable a match, that ſhe had proceeded with the leſs

Perhaps he might, after he found of what complection it was, though he attended it the fifteenth of May.

preciſeneſs

A. D. 1565. preciſeneſs in the matter. Throgmorton's reply to Mary was poor and trifling; for in effect all he ſaid was, that lord Darnley was an exception to the other ſubjects of Great Britain, whom Elizabeth might approve of as candidates for her hand. The other arguments uſed by Throgmorton could not, it ſeems, bear being tranſmitted on paper; but he ſays that Mary "is ſo far paſt in this matter with my lord Darnley, as it is irrevocable, and no place left to diſſolve the ſame by perſuaſion or reaſonable means, otherwiſe than by violence." Mary, notwithſtanding thoſe appearances, conſented to put off the conſummation of her marriage for three months, out of regard ſhe had for Elizabeth's friendſhip; and ſhe informed Throgmorton that ſhe intended to ſend a ſpecial embaſſador, not Maitland, (who it ſeems had offended her by his abrupt return to Scotland) to do all ſhe could to reconcile Elizabeth to the match, and to mollify her diſpleaſure.

A parliament ſummoned.

Mary had, in the late convention, met with ſo little oppoſition in her propoſed marriage, and found her great nobility ſo well-diſpoſed to favour it, provided the intereſts of religion were ſecured, that by the advice of her privy-council ſhe ordered a parliament to be ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh, on the twentieth of July, to deliberate upon the ſecurity which the preachers were to require for the Reformed religion.

religion. They had accordingly orders to aſ- A. D. 1565.
ſemble and draw up ſome heads for that pur-
poſe. When Throgmorton took his audience
of leave, he had the honour to dine with
Mary, who, before his departure, ſent him a
gold chain weighing fifty ounces.

Throgmorton's intrigues

Upon the breaking up of the convention, Mary again applied herſelf moſt aſſiduouſly in compoſing all differences between her great ſubjects, particularly the earls of Lenox and Argyle; and ſhe ſent orders for the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, her embaſſador in France, to do all he could to diſpoſe that court to favour her marriage with Darnley. But notwithſtanding her delaying her marriage for three months, Throgmorton, in his diſpatches to Elizabeth, was of opinion, that ſhe was ſo far gone in love, that ſhe was not able to keep promiſe with herſelf, far leſs with Elizabeth. Maitland, and other Scotch counſellors, who knew the temper of Elizabeth, gave their opinions to Mary, who was of herſelf ſufficiently quick of diſcernment in ſuch caſes, that all Elizabeth's oppoſition to the match was mere ſhow; nor could Mary in her behaviour towards Throgmorton conceal that ſhe was of the ſame opinion. We therefore find Throgmorton's diſpatches at this time full of dread and inquietudes, leſt the behaviour of Elizabeth and her miniſters ſhould confirm Mary in thoſe ſentiments. In a memorial which he ſent to

A. D. 1565. the earl of Leiceſter and ſecretary Cecil, he even adviſes that the earl of Bedford ſhould be ſent to his charge at Berwick with a new reinforcement; and that Elizabeth ſhould order her lords-lieutenants in the North to make warlike diſpoſitions, as if ſhe was on the eve of a war with Scotland.

and diſcoveries. I have already mentioned one Walſh's having been employed by Mary as an agent among the Engliſh Roman catholics; and his practices with thoſe of the North had alarmed Elizabeth ſo much, that Throgmorton was inſtructed to lay before Murray and the heads of the congregation the danger to which their religion muſt be expoſed, if Mary, by marrying the lord Darnley, ſhould unite in her intereſt all the party among the Engliſh, who thought his right of ſucceſſion to their crown was preferable to that of the Suffolk family, and even to that of Mary herſelf. He then was to propoſe an aſſociation among thoſe noblemen for withſtanding the marriage with Darnley, till he ſhould give proper ſecurity for maintaining the proteſtant religion in Scotland, as he himſelf was a profeſt Roman catholic *. He encreaſed their jealouſies by repreſenting Walſh's practices with

* Either Sir James Melvil or his printer have fallen into a miſtake on this head. His Memoirs ſay, "till the ſaid lord Darnley ſhould ſubſcribe a bond to maintain the Reformed religion, which he had *ever* profeſſed in England." It is certain, that both Darnley and his father at that time were Roman catholics.

the

the Roman catholics in the north of England, as tending to arm them in favour of Mary and her future ſpouſe. He pitched upon the earl of Northumberland particularly, who was the nobleman of greateſt power in thoſe parts, as being at their head; and he even repreſented Walſh's practices with him to be ſo dangerous, that he adviſed Leiceſter and Cecil to put him under an arreſt in London. He farther adviſed, that the counteſs of Lenox ſhould be put under cloſe reſtraint; and that the counteſs of Somerſet (or rather Hertford) ſhould be better received than formerly at court. A.D. 1565. Memorial of Throgmorton to Leiceſter and Cecil, dated May 27.

The counteſs of Lenox, ever ſince her ſon's departure to Scotland, had been put under confinement; but it was ſo gentle that ſhe had received viſits from Elizabeth. Upon the receipt of Throgmorton's letters, however, ſhe was committed cloſe priſoner, it being diſcovered that ſhe had kept up a correſpondence with Mary, in which, from the information of the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, ſhe had apprized her future daughter-in-law, that all Elizabeth's oppoſition to her marriage was mere grimace. This was the real opinion of Caſtelnau, who was ſent by the French court through England, as ambaſſador to Mary, to ſignify its approbation of her marriage with Darnley. But we are now to take a view of Mary's domeſtic ſituation.

A. D. 1565. Her paſſion for Darnley (or, as he is called, the earl of Roſs) continued to get the better of all her former moderate maxims, and even of that good ſenſe for which ſhe had been diſtinguiſhed ever ſince her return to Scotland. This was in a great meaſure owing to the weakneſs and arrogance of Lenox and his ſon, who had boaſted of the power and influence of their friends in England, that Elizabeth would not dare to counteract the marriage, and that all ſhe ſought was to form a party among the Scots, who might obſtruct the proſecution of their juſt rights in England. Mary believed, or ſeemed to believe them, and gave herſelf but too much up to their guidance, while they, ſtrangers as they were, were equally unfortunate in the choice of their favourites. The lord Robert, who was ſoon after created earl of Orkney, had a turn for gallantry and diſſipation, and was at the head of all parties of pleaſure about Mary's court. Though he profeſſed the proteſtant religion, he always ſtood forth as a champion for the prieſts, and Mary's popiſh domeſtics; and thoſe qualities naturally recommended him to an acquaintance and intimacy with Lenox and Darnley, whoſe ſhallow underſtanding hurried him on to act as if he had been already huſband to the queen, and maſter of the court. This triumvirate unhappily threw their eyes upon one David Rizzio, an Italian, and a Piedmonteſe by birth. His parents being poor, he

Mary's paſſion for Darnley.

Account of Rizio.

was

was bred to muſic, and taken into the ſervice of Moret, whom I have already mentioned to have been ſent by the duke of Savoy as ambaſſador to Mary. He attended his maſter thither; and being poſſeſſed of ſome knowledge in his profeſſion, a little humour, and a vaſt ſtock of aſſurance, the queen took him into her ſervice as a fourth ſupplemental voice (that is, a baſs) in her chapel *. She had long complained of the inaccuracy, or oſcitancy of Raulet, her French ſecretary, who ſhe thought did not give ſufficient attention to his diſpatches, and who was, beſides, too much concerned in court intrigues. Under ſuch circumſtances we may well ſuppoſe, that it was no difficult matter for Darnley and lord Robert to recommend their companion Rizio (who, ſo far as I can underſtand, affected to behave as a buffoon) to be employed in writing French letters. Though nothing is more common than promotions of this kind, even under the moſt provident princes, and in the beſt regulated courts, yet Mary's partiality for Rizio has been repreſented by Buchanan and her enemies as the ef- A. D. 1565.

* It has been ignorantly, though commonly ſuppoſed, that Rizio was author of ſome of thoſe Scotch tunes, the natural ſimplicity of which are affecting at this day, and have ſurvived the compoſitions in muſic of almoſt all other nations in the ſame period. This is ſo far from being the caſe, that it does not appear Rizio ever compoſed a ſingle air, or that he had any excellency in his profeſſion more than the three other valet de chambres (for ſo they are called) or muſicians with whom he ſung in concert.

fect

A.D. 1565. fect of a criminal paſſion; while that author at the ſame time informs us, that the uglineſs and aukwardneſs of Rizio's figure was ſuch, that no dreſs could make him look like a gentleman, and that his looks diſgraced his habit *. Blackwood, who knew Rizio as well as Buchanan, ſays, that he was an elderly man, his aſpect ugly, ſour, and forbidding.

To thoſe perſonal diſadvantages, Rizio added the faults that are common to upſtarts; petulant, pragmatical, and diſreſpectful towards his ſuperiors, he ſtrove to hide the meanneſs of his origin under rich habits and a ſplendid appearance, and affected to have the whole direction of the court, in which, it muſt be owned, he had too great a ſhare. It is, notwithſtanding, allowed, that he had ſhrewdneſs, aſſiduity, and quickneſs in buſineſs. The earls of Athol, Caithneſs, Errol, Montroſe, Caſſils, and Hume, with the lords Fleming, Montgomery, Ruthven, and Lindſay, were the nobility moſt favoured by Lenox and his ſon, who, on the ſtrength of their intereſt, propoſed to obtain a repeal of the ſevereſt acts againſt popery, and the celebration of the maſs.

Conduct of the Reformed.

On the other hand, the reformed party diſperſed themſelves into the ſeveral counties where their intereſt lay, that they might be in readineſs to act as occaſion ſhould offer. Even

* Rei indignior videbatur, quod non faciem cultus honeſtabat, ſed facies cultum deſtruebat.

Maitland,

Maitland, who had done Mary ſuch eſſential ſervices, was neglected at her court, or employed only in making up differences among the nobility, ſo as to preſerve the public tranquillity during the celebration of the royal nuptials. The queen, as I have already mentioned, had conceived ſome umbrage againſt him, becauſe he did not proceed on his embaſſy to France; and impoliticly for herſelf, ſhe had pitched upon one Hay, commendator of Balmerino, a privy-counſellor, and maſter of requeſts, to be ſent ambaſſador to Elizabeth, to reconcile her to the marriage. We may eaſily ſuppoſe, that ſo complete a politician as Murray found it no difficult matter to prevail with ſome of his friends (the lords Ruthven and Lindſay particularly) to mingle with the heedleſs courtiers, and, in ſhort, to act as ſpies for the party. It was probably through their ſuggeſtion, that Hay was pitched upon to ſucceed Maitland in his embaſſy, though he was a determined friend to Murray and the Reformers. Among his other inſtructions, which contain little particular but what has been already repreſented, he was ordered to propoſe a new treaty between the two kingdoms; and that the commiſſioners on the part of Mary ſhould be the earls of Murray, Morton, and Glencairn, the lord Ruthven, the younger Maitland, Bellenden juſtice-clerk, and Sir Robert Carnegie, or any four, three, or two

A.D. 1565.

of

A. D. 1565. of them. He was likewiſe ordered to expoſtulate with Elizabeth upon the ſevere treatment of the counteſs of Lenox, whom Mary calls her father's ſiſter, and to grant the earl of Lenox liberty to paſs and repaſs as he pleaſed, between England and Scotland.

Hay's negotiation. On the 24th of June, Hay arrived at the Engliſh court. Before this time, Elizabeth following Throgmorton's advice, whoſe counſels were unuſually violent on the occaſion, had ſent the counteſs of Lenox priſoner to the Tower of London, and had diſpatched letters to be delivered by Randolph, to Mary, Lenox, and Darnley, requiring the two latter, now that the time for their leave of abſence was expired, upon their allegiance to return to England. Randolph punctually obeyed his orders, but received no ſatisfaction from any of the parties, and behaved to Mary with a heat that was unbecoming a reſident, towards a crowned head. Mary's indignation broke forth in tears; Lenox appeared dejected; but Darnley, either better informed, or more inſenſible, declared that all Elizabeth's reſentment was affected. That his conjecture was true is evident from every circumſtance; for Elizabeth's real intereſt (and ſhe knew it well) was, that the match ſhould take place; and her pretended reſentment was in order to bring Murray and the heads of the Reformation to believe ſhe was ſo much exaſperated with Mary, that

that they would always find in her a ſure ſupport in all diſputes they had with their ſovereign. A. D. 1565.

About this time a ſudden gloom overcaſt Mary and her court. Never were characters more oppoſite than thoſe who had now the chief credit about her perſon, and their antagoniſts the Reformers. Darnley ſeemed to have loſt the ſmall ſhare of ſenſe with which nature had endued him. He had drawn his dagger upon lord Ruthven, who had firſt informed him that the time of his marriage was poſtponed; he had declared himſelf at open enmity with Murray; and he had prevailed with Mary not only to pardon but to recal Bothwell, the moſt unprincipled and unpopular man in her dominions. His behaviour became at laſt ſo univerſally diſguſting, that Mary, ſtrong as her paſſion was for his perſon, perceived it; and laboured, but in vain, to conceal it. She invited Murray, and the other heads of the Reformed, to her court, promiſing them all ſatisfaction; but not being able to prevail, ſhe was heard to bewail her own ſituation. Her addreſs, her aſſiduity, and gentleneſs, gained her, however, the eſteem and affections of all her ſubjects, except thoſe who were perſonally concerned, and whoſe ſafety depended on their oppoſing Darnley. That young man was even ſo unguarded as to declare publicly, that the thoughts of a rupture with Elizabeth

Mary's court ſuddenly overcaſt.

A. D. 1565. gave him no pain, becauſe after his marriage with Mary, they would have a ſtronger party than Elizabeth herſelf in England.

Account of the ſame. Murray now found it was his intereſt to ſtrengthen his party with the common people, by dropping all his little differences with Knox, in which he ſucceeded perfectly well; but, according to the genius of the times, both ſides now entertained thoughts of having recourſe to violence. Whatever Buchanan may pretend to the contrary, it ſeems to be a fact confirmed by Melvil's Memoirs, and Randolph's diſpatches, that Murray and his friends had formed a project for ſurprizing Lenox and his ſon, and carrying them both priſoners to Berwick. As this deſign had taken air, Mary, who was then at Perth, all of a ſudden withdrew herſelf and Darnley from the public eye. She diſgraced her maries, (for ſo maids of honour were formerly called) and her other domeſtics. She called Maitland ſometimes to council; but it was only becauſe ſhe knew not how to act without his advice. She ſuſpected Ruthven; and would have diſcarded the earl of Orkney and the lord Fleming, had they not been ſupported by Darnley. The earl of Athol, next to him, was her favourite; but Rizio was ſtill truſted. I perceive, that at this time all the eſtates and appointments of Lenox in England had been ſtopt; and that he and his ſon ſubſiſted upon Mary's bounty. As

ſhe

ſhe was generous, and had then more than common demands for money, ſhe negotiated a loan of fifty thouſand pounds Scots, which (ſays Randolph in his diſpatch) is about twelve thouſand pounds ſterling; a proof, that there was not then ſuch a diſproportion as happened afterwards between the Engliſh and Scotch currency. Randolph was treated with the greateſt neglect and diſregard; and went to court but twice in twenty-four days. A. D. 1565.

Mutual plots and accuſations.

Towards the end of June, or the beginning of July, while Mary was at Perth, ſhe was alarmed with an account of a deſign formed by the earls of Argyle and Murray, to ſurprize her and Darnley in their journey from Perth to Calendar, where they were to pay the lord Levingſtone a viſit, and of ſending Darnley priſoner to Caſtle Campbel, a houſe in the neighbourhood, belonging to the earl of Argyle. This alarm is pretended to have proceeded from Lenox and Darnley, or ſome over-officious Roman catholic in Mary's train; and it was ſaid to be groundleſs. Murray was then ill of a flux at his mother's houſe at Lochleven; the earl of Argyle was at Caſtle Campbel; and the duke of Chatleheraut, who was likewiſe accuſed, was at Kinneil; but all of them without any extraordinary attendance. Though this was known to Mary, yet Lenox and his ſon endeavoured to perſuade her that thoſe three heads of the party had ſome treaſonable

A. D. 1565. ſonable purpoſe in diſpoſing of themſelves in places near which ſhe muſt paſs in her journey. The earl of Athol and the lord Ruthven were immediately diſpatched to raiſe their tenants in the neighbourhood; and they accordingly formed a guard of three hundred men, with which Mary ſet out in great haſte for Edinburgh. Though I have related the above ſuppoſed conſpiracy as I find it in Randolph's diſpatches, yet it has been treated as real by Melvil and other writers. All, however, that can be ſaid with certainty on that ſide of the queſtion is, that Murray moſt undoubtedly had a project for ſurprizing Darnley and his father; but where, when, or in what manner, does not evidently appear. We underſtand likewiſe from Randolph's diſpatches, that Mary was truly informed, when ſhe was told that the Reformed lords had entered into an aſſociation to withſtand every meaſure that ſhould be attempted againſt their religion, or to diſturb the good underſtanding between England and Scotland.

Danger of Mary.

The late reconciliation between Murray and Knox was productive of greater dangers to Mary than ſhe was truly informed of. Beſides the aſſociation already mentioned, another was formed among the citizens of Edinburgh for oppoſing the marriage. They aſſembled at a place called St. Leonard's Hill or Craig, where they entered into conſultation about dividing themſelves

themſelves into companies, and chuſing a captain for each. The chief adviſers in this aſſociation were Alexander Guthrie, Alexander Clerk, Gilbert Lauder, and Andrew Sclatter. Their meeting could be no ſecret to Mary, who was within twelve miles of that capital; and, according to Randolph, ſhe iſſued an order to the provoſt and magiſtrates to apprehend the perſons of the leaders above mentioned. No ſuch order however appears upon record; and indeed the parties ſeem to have been but very ill provided for a rebellion. Mary with great ſpirit proceeded to Edinburgh, where her appearance daſhed in pieces all the machinations of her enemies, who fled towards Berwick, where the earl of Bedford had previous orders to receive them; and being declared traitors, the lord treaſurer took poſſeſſion of their eſtates and effects; but in a few days, ſuch was Mary's innate clemency, they were reſtored at the interceſſion of the magiſtrates. The earl of Murray, at this time, was not without his real or pretended apprehenſions of aſſaſſination likewiſe; but though we can ſcarcely doubt that his enemies were capable of the moſt deſperate undertakings, we are in the dark as to particulars. All we know is from Randolph, who ſays, that Grant, one of Murray's ſervants, baſtinadoed Stuart, the captain of the queen's guard, who was encouraged to revenge himſelf at Perth, and promiſed to be ſupported by the A.D. 1565.

A.D.1565. the earls of Lenox and Athol; and that Murray, who probably would interpoſe, was to be aſſaſſinated in the fray. It is for the ſake of truth and conſiſtency I obſerve, that Buchanan ſays Murray was informed by lord Ruthven of Darnley's intention to have him aſſaſſinated, upon which he went to his mother's houſe at Lochleven. The ſame author ſays farther, that the murder was to have been committed by Rizio and others, while Murray was converſing with Darnley. Without dwelling upon the very different accounts of this matter given by Randolph and Buchanan, it is but doing juſtice to Mary, in obſerving, that ſhe omitted nothing to bring the conſpiracy againſt Murray to light. Both he and the earl of Argyle had ſaid, that the conſpiracy was hatched by the earl of Roſs, in her houſe at Perth. She therefore ſent an order by the commendator of Balmerino, who was then returned from his embaſſy in England, to the two earls, to make good the charge. They (Murray eſpecially) objected to their ſafety in coming to court; upon which, Mary offered them all the ſecurity they could require, and to give ſafe-conducts to Murray, and any four-ſcore perſons in the kingdom, whom he choſe ſhould attend him. I do not however perceive, that Murray choſe to venture his perſon at court, or that he either offered to ſupport the charge with any particulars, which (had it been true) he might eaſily

eaſily have done without coming to court, or by any other than general, vague, allegations. A. D. 1565.

Her proclamations about religion, and petition of the Reformed.

Mary, ſenſible how ſtrongly religious fears operated on the minds of her ſubjects, eſpecially the citizens of Edinburgh, took care, before her marriage, to iſſue proclamations, copies of which may be found in Keith, tending to give her people the ampleſt ſecurity with regard to the exerciſe of the reformed religion. In the mean time, the aſſembly of the church was held at Edinburgh, where the members availed themſelves to the utmoſt of Mary's ſituation. They preſented a paper to her conſiſting of eight heads. By the firſt, they petitioned that the blaſphemous maſs, all popiſh idolatry, with the pope's juriſdiction, ſhould not only be aboliſhed throughout the kingdom, but in the queen's perſon and houſhold. To this Mary replied, " that ſhe was no ways perſuaded that there was any impiety in the maſs; and truſted her ſubjects would not preſs her to do againſt her conſcience. For not to diſſemble, but to deal plainly with them, ſhe ſaid, ſhe neither might nor would forſake the religion wherein ſhe had been educated and brought up, believing the ſame to be the true religion, and grounded upon the word of God. Beſides, ſhe knew that if ſhe ſhould change her religion, it would loſe her the friendſhip of the king of France, and other great princes her friends and confederates, upon whoſe diſpleaſure ſhe would be

A.D. 1565. be loth to hazard, knowing no friendſhip that might countervail theirs: therefore deſired all her loving ſubjects, who have had experience of her goodneſs, how ſhe had neither in times paſt, nor yet in time coming did intend to force the conſcience of any perſon, but to permit every one to ſerve God in ſuch manner as they are perſuaded to be the beſt: that they likewiſe would not urge her to any thing that ſtood not with the quietneſs of her mind."

The next head of their petition, or rather demand, was, "That the true religion formerly received ſhould be profeſſed by the queen, as well as by the ſubject; and all perſons obliged to reſort upon Sundays, at leaſt, to prayers, and the preaching of God's word, as in former times they were bound to hear maſs." To this Mary replied, "that ſhe would abide by whatever the three eſtates, aſſembled in parliament, ſhould determine; that in the interim all had liberty of conſcience."

Their third demand was, "That ſure proviſion ſhould be made for the preſent and future ſupport of the miniſtry, by aſſigning them livings, either where they ſerve, or in the neighbourhood: and that all benefices, vacant ſince the month of March 1558, and ſuch as ſhall happen thereafter to be void, ſhould be beſtowed on perſons found worthy of the miniſtry by the ſuperintendents."

The

The fourth head was, "that no biſhopric, abbey, priory, deanry, provoſtry, or other benefice, having more churches than one annexed thereto, ſhould henceforth be given to one man; but that its churches being diſſolved, the ſame ſhall be beſtowed on different perſons, ſo that every one may ſerve at his own church; that glebes and manſes may be appropriated for the miniſters, and churches repaired; for which an act of parliament is required." To thoſe two articles it was anſwered, That her majeſty did not think it reaſonable that ſhe ſhould defraud herſelf of ſo great a part of the patrimony of the crown, as to relinquiſh the patronage of benefices: notwithſtanding, her majeſty was willing, after her own neceſſities were ſupplied, that a proper fund ſhould be dedicated to the uſe of the miniſtry. A.D. 1565. with her anſwers.

Their fifth claim was, "That none but ſuch as are deemed qualified by the ſuperintendents ſhould have charge of ſchools, colleges, univerſities, or any way preſume to inſtruct youth." The queen promiſed to be directed by the convention of the ſtates as to this article.

Their ſixth requeſt was, "That all lands deſtined of old to hoſpitality ſhould be reſtored to the poor; and that lands, annual rents, or other emoluments formerly enjoyed by friars, with annuities, obits, and other duties belonging to prieſts, be employed for the ſame purpoſes, and for the ſupport of ſchools in the

A.D. 1565. places where they lie." To this Mary replied, that ſhe would be as liberal to the poor as was conſiſtent with reaſon; and left the other articles to the deciſion of parliament.

Their ſeventh requeſt was, "That idolatry, blaſphemy, manifeſt breaking of the Lord's day, witchcraft, ſorcery, inchantment, adultery, inceſt, open whoredom, maintaining of brothels, murder, ſlaughter, theft, oppreſſion, with other deteſtable crimes, be ſeverely puniſhed by judges appointed in every province."

The eighth was, "That ſome order ſhould be deviſed for the relief of poor huſbandmen, who are oppreſſed in their tithes, by leaſes let over their heads, which oblige them to accept unreaſonable conditions." Mary's anſwer to the two laſt petitions was, that ſhe referred the conſideration of them to the approaching convention.

Her moderation.

When we conſider the moderation diſplayed by Mary upon this and all other occaſions of ſtate and religion, it cannot be denied, that the lords in the oppoſition to her marriage, had formed, on that pretext, an unprovoked plan of rebellion, upon the aſſurances they had of being ſupported by Elizabeth. They indeed pretended that freſh matter of oppoſition was preſented; but this is ſo far from being the caſe, that Mary had, of late, behaved with unuſual circumſpection; and, as we have already ſeen, had even pardoned the inſurgents at

at Edinburgh, though they had been declared rebels. Darnley and his father, it is true, were full of heat and preſumption; but no attempt had been made to violate the civil or religious liberties of the ſubject. On the contrary, Mary had given all the ſecurity in her power for the preſervation of both. The aſſociated lords and their abettors ſeem to have been aware of this; for inſtead of charging Mary with any unjuſtifiable act of prerogative, nothing now was ſo common among them as the diſcuſſion of general propoſitions; Whether a papiſt might be lawfully made king of Scotland? whether Mary was at liberty to chuſe a huſband for herſelf? and whether the ſtates ought not to appoint her a huſband? Though thoſe queſtions ſcarcely merited a diſcuſſion, yet it may be here proper to obſerve, that the firſt ſtrikes at Mary's own temporal ſovereignty, for which even Knox had always profeſſed the moſt profound veneration. The ſecond, if reſolved in the negative, muſt have put the queen upon a more wretched and contemptible footing than any female ſubject ſhe had. As to the laſt queſtion, it is true the ſtates had not appointed a huſband for her; but they had almoſt unanimouſly approved of the appointment ſhe had made for herſelf.

A. D. 1565.

Camden.

Setting aſide all other conſiderations, every ſtep of the aſſociated lords was a proof of a deliberate premeditated rebellion, even before the

The aſſociated lords apply to Elizabeth for money.

A. D. 1565. queen's marriage was celebrated. Their hopes from the inſurrection at Edinburgh being at an end, it was in vain they caſt their eyes around the nation, where they ſaw the people pleaſed with their ſovereign, and happy under her government. They had recourſe to Elizabeth; and Argyle and Murray ſent a letter to Randolph in their own names, and thoſe of their brethren, which Randolph tranſmitted to Cecil. This letter is conceived in terms equally vague, falſe, and indefenſible. They pretended, that they ſaw their ſovereign determined to overthrow the received religion; but without bringing a ſingle inſtance in which it was attempted. They likewiſe alledged, that ſhe was ſore bent (to uſe their own expreſſion) againſt thoſe that deſired to ſee the amity (that is between Scotland and England) continued: which two points (ſays Randolph) they "are bound in conſcience to maintain and defend; and therefore are determined to withſtand all attempts that ſhall be made againſt the ſame; and are reſolved to provide for their ſovereign's eſtate, better than at this time ſhe can conſider thereof herſelf." Randolph next lays before Cecil the requeſt of the aſſociated lords, which did not conſiſt of any ſupply of men but of money, ſo as to keep them together at Edinburgh, where they propoſed to diſtreſs all Mary's meaſures, and to prevent any rupture with England. The ſum they propoſed was

Letter from Randolph to Cecil, July 4.

three

three thouſand pounds, with which they promiſed to perform wonders in the Reformation of the ſtate. In the cloſe of this letter, Randolph, who writes like a dirty peddling emiſſary, adviſes Cecil to order the borderers to fall upon lord Hume's eſtates, becauſe he is the only man of the marches, or in Lothian, whom Mary truſts. He likewiſe adviſes him to intercept the young biſhop of Dumblain, who was returning from Rome with the pope's licence for the marriage; Mary and Darnley being within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity. A. D. 1565.

Elizabeth had now brought matters in Scotland to that criſis which ſhe had long ſecretly wiſhed for. The encouragement ſhe had given to the aſſociated lords had been attended with ſuch circumſtances of ambiguity and caution, that they could not charge her, in direct terms, with her having made them any promiſes. In the anſwer ſhe returned to Randolph, ſhe affected great impartiality as to the differences between Mary and her ſubjects, and ordered him to acquaint her, that her (Mary) not conſulting her (Elizabeth) in the choice of her huſband, had made her afraid of being thought officious, if ſhe had not given Mary ſome demonſtration of her ſiſterly good will. In the mean while, concludes ſhe, "whilſt ſhe is adviſed by their adverſaries, we wiſh the nobility forbear to reſort in companies together, that they be not enſnared Cautious conduct of Elizabeth,

A. D. 1564. ſnared in any one place by their adverſaries. Finally, you ſhall aſſure them, that they doing their duty, if they ſhall, by malice or practice, be forced to any inconveniency, they ſhall not find lack in us to regard them in their truth. And as we ſhall hear further from you, ſo ſhall we impart more of our mind to be delivered unto them in this cauſe. And where it ſeemeth by your writing, that the nobility are determined to keep great forces for their defence, we are of opinion, that thereby the queen takes moſt ſuſpicion of their intentions, and by this they ſhall be driven to greater charges than is expedient; upon which you ſhall do well, as you ſee cauſe, to give them advice, neither to make greater expence than their ſecurity makes neceſſary; nor leſs, which may bring danger."

who ſupplies the Scotch lords withmoney.

Notwithſtanding all this affected caution of Elizabeth, it appears from other evidences, that ſhe ordered the earl of Bedford, governor of Berwick, privately to ſupply Murray with money; but the generous open manner with which Mary proceeded at this time, rendered her an overmatch for her adverſaries. To take from them all pretexts of danger to their religion, on the 12th of July, ſhe emitted a proclamation for the aſſurance of religion, which was conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms. She had been preſent in the houſe of Calendar, to witneſs the baptiſm of lord Levingſton's child;

child; and even Knox acknowledges that ſhe heard a proteſtant ſermon. She took every opportunity to declare, that though ſhe believed her own religion to be the beſt, yet ſhe was open to conviction; and though ſhe could not endure the rude behaviour and treaſonable converſation of Knox, yet ſhe would willingly hear diſputations and conferences in the ſcriptures, and public preaching from the mouth of Mr. Erſkine of Dun, becauſe ſhe had an opinion of his moderation and mildneſs, as well as of his honeſty and integrity. I believe no reader, after the ſpecimens I have given of Mr. Knox's converſation and behaviour towards Mary, can be ſurprized at Mary's diſlike of that preacher, had ſhe even been a private gentlewoman; but far from approving of her docility by endeavouring to nurture it, all he ſays on that head is, that ſhe would only hear preaching out of the mouth of ſuch as pleaſed her majeſty. A. D. 1565.

The aſſociated lords had abſented themſelves from court; ſo that the clouds of rebellion appeared ſtill with a threatening aſpect. Mary, therefore, with the advice of her council, among whom I find the earl of Morton, who was then chancellor, adjourned the meeting of the parliament from the twentieth of July to the firſt of September following. The public apprehenſions from the aſſociated lords continuing to encreaſe every day, Mary thought it high

They retire from court.

A. D. 1565. high time to provide for her ſafety; and on the fifteenth of July ſhe publiſhed a proclamation, by the advice of her council, certifying all her good ſubjects, that as they had not hitherto, ſo ſhould they not for the time to come be moleſted in the matter of religion. She then charges all her ſubjects to attend her, furniſhed with warlike accoutrements for fifteen days, under pain of being reputed and held aſſiſters and partakers with the diſobedient, and to be puniſhed accordingly. Mary, beſides this proclamation, ſent a circular letter to the noblemen and gentlemen in Fife, Angus, Lothian, Mers, Teviotdale, Perthſhire, Linlithgowſhire, and Clydeſdale. The original of this letter is ſtill extant, all written and ſubſcribed by Mary's hand; and is to be found, only ſomewhat modernized as to the ſtile and ſpelling, in the notes *. The reader is to obſerve, that at the

* Truſty friend, we greet you well. The evil bruit and untrue report ſpread by ſeditious perſons amongſt our lieges has grieved us indeed, as that we ſhould have intended to impede or moleſt any our ſubjects in the uſing their religion and conſcience freely: a thing which never entered into our mind, although too many have credited the report: and to the effect that this vain bruit may vaniſh, as a thing without ground or occaſion, we have directed our letters, to ſignify our ſincere meaning to all our good ſubjects: and with that we thought it very meet and convenient to write unto you, in particular, as one of whom we never had but good opinion, and ſaw your ready good will to ſhew, when the occaſion of the commonweal required. The effect is to certify and aſſure you, that as hitherto ye have never perceived us to mean, ſtop, ſtay, or moleſtation given to you, or any others, in uſing your religion and conſcience, ſo may ye look for the ſame our good will and clemency in time coming; for next God behaving you as a good ſubject to us, think no other but

time thoſe letters and proclamations were emitted, the aſſociated lords were aſſembled at Stirling, from whence they ſent a paper, which they called a ſupplication, to the queen, which has been printed. It contains little beſides vague declamations againſt idolatry, railings againſt crimes, and petitions for a ſpeedy reformation, with ſtrong apprehenſions of the return of popery. The reader may have a ſpecimen of it from the cloſe, which is as follows: "And therefore yet again we the whole body profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus within this realm, humbly crave of your majeſty, that you give us not occaſion to think that you intend nothing but the ſubverſion of Chriſt Jeſus's true religion, and in the overthrow of it the deſtruction of us, the beſt part of the ſubjects of your grace's realm. For this, before the world, we plainly profeſs, that to that Roman antichriſt we will never be ſubject, nor yet ſuffer (ſo far as our power may ſuppreſs it) any of his uſurped authority to have place within this realm. And thus, with all

A. D. 1565.

Their inſolent ſupplication.

but to find us a favourable and beneficent miſtreſs and prince, willing to continue you in good peace and quietneſs; but (without) innovation or alteration in any ſort. And in caſe ye ſhall be deſired to riſe and concur with any man, as under pretence of this vain bruit, we pray you to ſtay, and take no heed to them that ſo ſhall deſire you. As alſo, if it ſhall happen us to have to do either with our old enemies, or otherwiſe, we look to be certified by you preſently in writing with the bearer what we may lippen (truſt) for at your hands. Farther of our mind we have declared to the bearer hereof,
whom to ye ſhall give firm credit. Subſcribed with our hand at Edinburgh, the ſixteenth day of July, 1565.

Mary R.

A. D. 1565. humble and dutiful obedience, we humbly crave your grace's favourable anſwer with theſe our appointed commiſſioners."

Every ingenuous reader muſt be hurt by the inſult which this ſupplication offered to Mary, as it was attended with no particular facts or allegations; and the more, when he reflects on the unwearied pains ſhe had taken to quiet the minds of her proteſtant ſubjects. I have more than once declared my diſbelief, that Mary was to be ſhaken in her religion by any arguments; but I am convinced ſhe was then ſincere in all her declarations, that ſhe would confine her partiality for the Roman catholic religion within the walls of her own palace; an inſtance of moderation not to be found perhaps in the hiſtory of that age. I am farther of opinion, that gentle treatment and liberal conferences on that head, might have rendered her a very moderate papiſt; and have even reconciled her to ſome externals of the Reformed worſhip.

A freſh, but fruitleſs, embaſſy to England.

Ever ſince the inſurrection at Edinburgh, Mary had kept about her perſon a body of troops, conſiſting chiefly of the earl of Hume's tenants, and the inhabitants of Lothian. She behaved decently with regard to Elizabeth; but kept Randolph at a great diſtance. That reſident's account of her court at this time, either ſhews how willing he was to impoſe upon his miſtreſs and her miniſters, or how ignorant he was of Mary's real ſituation; for he repreſents

ſents her and her intended huſband as the moſt forlorn deteſted beings in Scotland, though the ſequel proved, that ſhe never had ſo fully poſſeſſed the affections of her ſubjects as ſhe did at that very time. The lord Lenox and his ſon ſent the commendator Hay to clear themſelves of all ſuſpicion towards Murray; and the former offered to fight any man who ſhould dare to avow that they ever intended to murder him; and indeed the imputation is too groſs to be farther mentioned. On the twenty-firſt of July the diſpenſation for the marriage having arrived, Randolph had an audience of Mary; but upon his pretending to juſtify himſelf, (according to his own repreſentation of the matter, he muſt have been a very rude, impertinent, apologiſt) ſhe cut him ſhort in ſo peremptory a manner, that he thought proper to retire. Some days after, the aſſociated lords at Stirling having appeared in arms, the queen, in a very full council, publiſhed a freſh proclamation for the attendance of her ſubjects at Edinburgh, which was ſo numerous, that it entirely deſtroyed all Randolph's ſuggeſtions as to the deſperate ſituation of Mary; for the lords ſeparated from each other, and provided for their own ſafety in the beſt manner they could. A. D. 1565.

Darnley was now created duke of Albany, but not Rothſay, which was the title of the king of Scotland's eldeſt ſon; and late on the Mary and Darnley marry.

A. D. 1565. twenty-eighth of July, being the evening before the queen's marriage, ſhe ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed for giving him the title of king. This ſeems to have been a premature, idle, ſtep, and probably was ſuggeſted by the bridegroom himſelf, or his father. Next day, the marriage was celebrated in the chapel of the abbey of Holyrood-houſe by John Sinclair dean of Reſtalrig, and biſhop of Brechin, between the hours of five and ſix in the morning. The ceremony being performed, the queen went to maſs, but unaccompanied by the bridegroom, who affecting great moderation with regard to religion, aſſiſted at the proteſtant worſhip, and heard the preachers. At the wedding-dinner the earl of Athol aſſiſted as ſewer, the earl of Morton as carver, and the earl of Crawford as cup-bearer: the attendants upon the king were the earls of Eglington, Caſſils, and Glencairn; and next day Darnley was proclaimed king, by ſound of trumpet, over the croſs of Edinburgh.

Promotions. Mary was then in the twenty-third year of her age, and her huſband in his twentieth. That ſhe was far gone in love after what we have ſeen, cannot be doubted; but the declaring her huſband king by her own proclamation, was not only highly unconſtitutional, but ſoon proved fatal to herſelf. Next to love, ignorance may be urged in her excuſe. Her giddy bridegroom and his father ſeem to have

have only conſulted with Rizio and ſome diſſipated favourites, who knew nothing of the laws or conſtitution of the kingdom; and the affection of her people led them to overlook the irregularity. Some promotions were made upon the occaſion. The lord Erſkine was now inveſted with the title of earl of Mar, and the lord Fleming was made chamberlain of Scotland, and maſter-uſher of the king and queen's chamber doors. The earl of Sutherland was recalled from baniſhment; and I perceive that Bothwell, the moſt unprincipled and unpopular man in Scotland, now made his appearance at court. Never perhaps was a marriage celebrated under more uncomfortable circumſtances; for the royal pair, the very ſecond or third day after the conſummation, were obliged to take the field againſt the earl of Murray and his adherents in Fife. New proclamations were iſſued; and it is highly remarkable, that the earl of Murray was not declared a rebel till the ſixth of Auguſt. The duke of Chatleheraut and the earl of Argyle, his two chief aſſociates, with their followers, did not undergo that penalty; and intimations only were ſent them to their dwelling-houſes to warn them of their danger. I find, however, that after the lords had preſented a freſh ſet of articles relating to religion, to the ſame purpoſe as we have already ſeen, they wrote a letter, which is ſigned by the duke of Chatleheraut, A.D. 1565.

A. D. 1565. leheraut and the earls of Argyle and Murray, to Elizabeth, craving afreſh her protection. Mary having aſſembled her forces, ſhe prepared to march; but the aſſociated lords did not make that figure in the field which was expected. Murray had truſted to the earl of Bedford, as appears from his original letter in the Lawyer's Library at Edinburgh, which, as it is a great curioſity, I ſhall here lay before the reader.

Murray's letter to Bedford.

"Right honourable, my very good lord: After my moſt hearty commendations, I truſt the bruit of ſome noblemens proceedings againſt me is ſo far ſpread abroad, that it hath alſo reached your ears. I know no merit in myſelf, ſaving the earneſt affection God hath granted me to his true worſhip, the good will I bear to the common wealth of my country, and the entertainment of a mutual amity betwixt both realms. And ſeeing that my ſingle intention, grounded upon ſo good heads, have ingendered to me the peril wherein preſently I and all my like in this realm ſtandeth; and knowing your good lordſhip's earneſt affection, joined with ſincerity, to the ſame end; I thought it my duty to give your lordſhip to underſtand the ſame, knowing well, that as your good will is much to our comfort, ſo is your room and place of power to perform the ſame in a great part: eſpecially ſeeing the perſons moſt dangerous and troubleſome to our party, doth lye very near

near your bounds, we would wiſh, and for my own part muſt earneſtly crave of your honour to ſtay off us by all means their power, which your lordſhip hath moyen to do. And ſo as matters ſhall further proceed to our ſtrait, we crave further your lordſhip's comfort, as of one, to whom God hath granted to know the ſubtile devices of Satan againſt the innocent profeſſors of the goſpel, to ſtir up the powers of the world againſt the ſame, and how many ways he can colour his enterprize. And thus not doubting of your lordſhip's good will, I commit your honourable lordſhip to the protection of God." A.D. 1565.

Deſperate ſituation of the lords.

By the above letter the reader may perceive the deſperate ſituation to which the aſſociated lords were now reduced. They endeavoured to rouze their fellow-ſubjects to reſentment, by repreſenting the indignity done them in having a king impoſed upon the nation without their conſent; of having proclamations take place of acts of parliament; and from the danger of ſeeing all that had been done for religion reverſed. All was to no purpoſe; nor could the diſcontented aſſemble the face of an army. The earl of Rothes, Kirkaldy, Grange, and Haliburton, provoſt of Dundee, who had been ſeen in arms, were ordered, by proclamations, to enter themſelves into ſeveral priſons, under the penalty of being declared rebels. About the fourteenth of Auguſt, Mary's army was put in motion; and

A. D. 1565. and their majeſties marched towards Fife to extinguiſh the laſt remains of rebellion in Scotland; but about this time Mary was ſurprized by a freſh meſſage from her ſiſter Elizabeth.

Mary acts with becoming ſpirit. That great princeſs diſliked the ſpirit with which Mary had proceeded of late; and found, that the Scots were far from being ſo ripe for an inſurrection as had been repreſented. She therefore pitched upon one Tamworth, a gentleman of her bedchamber, a forward inſolent fellow, to be her meſſenger, and apprized Randolph that he was upon his journey; ordering him, at the ſame time, to aſſiſt Tamworth in his buſineſs. Mary was now perfectly ſenſible of Elizabeth's practices with the aſſociated lords; but did not, as uſual, bury her reſentment in tears and ſilent indignation. She gave it full vent; ſhe ordered Randolph to be treated as a ſpy; and he received notice from ſecretary Maitland, that if he did not deſiſt from tampering with the lords and her rebellious ſubjects, he ſhould be put under arreſt in his own houſe. Tamworth's inſtructions from Elizabeth are, as uſual, full of diſſimulation, and affected tenderneſs towards Mary's perſon and character; but we learn from them, that Mary had written to Elizabeth in very ſharp terms, complaining of her debauching her ſubjects, and threatening to appeal to all the princes her allies, for juſtice. Tamworth, by his miſtreſs's order, reproached Mary

Mary for her duplicity in entertaining Darnley as her lover, in ſuch a manner as ſhe could not avoid making him her huſband, at the very time that ſecretary Maitland was her embaſſador at the Engliſh court aſking Elizabeth's advice about her marriage. He was next to reaſon with her concerning the breach of the treaty between the two crowns, by detaining Lenox and his ſon (whom Elizabeth claimed to be her ſubjects) in Scotland, after being formally required to return to England. The reſt of Tamworth's inſtructions contained general profeſſions of friendſhip for Mary; but drawn up in a ſtile of ſuperiority, as if Elizabeth had a right to be conſulted in all the affairs of Scotland; and they end with a warm recommendation of Murray for his honeſty and abilities, and ſome tacit menaces againſt Mary herſelf, if ſhe ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Reformed religion. A. D. 1565.

Treatment of Tamworth.

It does not evidently appear, that Tamworth was ever admitted to a perſonal audience with Mary; but ſhe certainly received a copy of his meſſage, to every head of which ſhe returned a preciſe, but ſpirited, anſwer. She threw the blame of her concluding her marriage without conſulting Elizabeth, upon that princeſs, who had not appointed commiſſioners, as had been propoſed, to remove all difficulties. At the ſame time, ſhe put Elizabeth in mind, that ſhe herſelf had declared to Throgmorton, and

A. D. 1565. by her embaſſadors Maitland and Hay, that ſhe was determined to marry Darnley; and that Elizabeth's behaviour was ſuch, as put her under a kind of neceſſity to chuſe a partner of her throne. "To deal plainly and frankly, (ſays her memorial) her highneſs had good cauſe to conſummate her marriage in the manner and time ſhe has done; and as both were known to herſelf and her people, ſhe thinks no other prince has any concern in the affair:" She added, "that whatever Elizabeth might pretend to the contrary, ſhe was ready to prove that the greateſt and principal powers in Chriſtendom had approved of her conduct." She then ſhewed how ridiculous and unjuſt Elizabeth's complaint was, concerning a breach of treaties, in detaining Lenox and his ſon in Scotland, ſince the latter is actually her huſband, and the former a Scotchman by birth, title, and eſtate; and had been recommended in the ſtrongeſt manner to her favour and protection by Elizabeth herſelf. She next hints that ſhe had her demands upon Elizabeth, as well as the latter had upon her; but that Elizabeth expected every conceſſion, and would make none. She adds, that if Tamworth, by his commiſſion, was impowered to treat upon any propoſition that might be made him on her (Mary's) part, ſhe was willing to open the conferences immediately. She puts Elizabeth in mind that her rank in the world claimed reſpect;

reſpect; and that upon an emergency ſhe knew where to find friends; that as ſhe never had intermeddled in the affairs of England, becauſe ſhe thought that an independent ſovereign was only accountable to God, ſo ſhe expected that Elizabeth would not concern herſelf with thoſe of Scotland. As to the earl of Murray, Mary (to uſe her own words) "moſt heartily deſired her good ſiſter to meddle no farther with private caſes, concerning him, or any other ſubjects of Scotland, than her majeſty has heretofore meddled with thoſe of the ſubjects of England; and that Elizabeth in ſo doing will perform the very office of a prince and a good neighbour." She concluded by interceding for the counteſs of Lenox, and putting Elizabeth in mind of her cruelty and injuſtice towards that lady. A. D. 1565.

I have been the more explicit in my account of this meſſage, becauſe of Mary's alteration of ſtile towards her ſiſter-queen. The reader cannot avoid perceiving her repeated admonitions to Elizabeth not to concern herſelf with the affairs of Scotland; but to take from Elizabeth all pretext for complaint, I find a paper addreſſed to her by Mary and her huſband, which I apprehend was drawn up by Maitland, and was to ſerve as the baſis of a perpetual peace between the two nations. In this paper "they promiſe to preſerve the peace with England inviolable, and not to attempt any alteration Mary's offer to Elizabeth.

A. D. 1565. tion in religion, even though they ſhould be called to that throne. But all this was upon the following conditions: Firſt, That Elizabeth ſhould declare the ſucceſſion to be in Mary; and failing her, and the iſſue of her body, in the counteſs of Lenox and her iſſue. Secondly, That Elizabeth ſhall deſiſt from meddling in any Scotch affairs, and from entertaining any rebels of that country. Thirdly, That ſhe ſhall enter into no foreign league in prejudice of the kingdom of Scotland. Laſtly, That a definitive treaty be entered upon by commiſſioners of both nations." Whether thoſe propoſitions were tranſmitted by Tamworth, does not clearly appear; but his behaviour was reſented by Mary, eſpecially in his giving her huſband no higher title than that of lord Darnley. His confederate, Randolph, was deſired by ſecretary Maitland to withdraw to Berwick; and upon his refuſing to comply, Mary obliged him to promiſe upon his word of honour, that he ſhould have no dealings with her rebels. As to Tamworth, upon his taking leave of the Scotch court, he demanded a ſafe-conduct for his return to England; and being offered one ſigned by the king only, he refuſed it, and proceeded without one upon his return; upon which he was ſtopt at Dunbar by the lord Hume, who made him priſoner for ſome days in his caſtle of Hume. Randolph complained to Mary of his detention; but



HENRY LORD DARNLEY.

but received no other anſwer than that he might blame himſelf, becauſe he would not accept of a ſafe-conduct when offered him. It is certain, however, that he ſoon after obtained his liberty. A.D. 1565.

Mary and her huſband continued ſtill in the field againſt the rebels, the chief of whom were inhabitants of Fife. Many gentlemen of that county were ordered into cuſtody; and the earl of Rothes and Kirkaldy being now denounced rebels, as well as Murray, their houſes and poſſeſſions were taken into the hands of the crown. Mary's chief attendants in this expedition were the chancellor earl of Morton, the earls of Athol and Mar, the lord Ruthven, ſecretary Maitland, the treaſurer, the comptroller, the clerk-regiſter, juſtice-clerk, and advocate. I mention thoſe names chiefly to ſhew, that Mary did not proceed without the opinions of the chief lawyers of her kingdom; and it is remarkable that the chancellor himſelf had been the boſom companion of Murray. She takes the field againſt the rebels,

The aſſociated and rebel lords met with compaſſion wherever they went, but no encouragement; and at laſt they came to a reſolution to retire to the faſtneſſes of Argyleſhire, there to wait for what time ſhould produce. Being thus driven from place to place, ſeveral proclamations were iſſued againſt them, prohibiting all the ſubjects of Scotland from intercommuning and outlaws them.

A. D. 1565. ing with them, or ſupplying them with meat, drink, munition, or armour. We find them, however, muſtering their forces at Air, and new levies were made for purſuing them to the utmoſt; but in the mean while, Mary very wiſely publiſhed a proclamation for the confirmation and ſecurity of the reformed religion; and another of pardon to all their attendants, who ſhould peaceably leave their company and depart home. Beſides the army that was to be headed by the king and queen, and which was to march weſt towards Air and Irwin, the earl of Athol was appointed lieutenant for the North part of the kingdom, and had it in charge to invade Argyleſhire with an army of Highlanders. To ſhew the public that their majeſties were in earneſt, the uſual immunities previous to the expedition were granted to all true ſubjects of every rank and quality, that happened to die, or be wounded, under the charge of their ſaid lieutenant.

Aug. 22.

She removes the provoſt of Edinburgh.

The heads of the aſſociated lords were the duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, and Rothes; and the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, with ſome barons of Fife and Kyle. They had ſent one Elphinſton to make another trial of Elizabeth; and, if we are to believe Knox, who was well informed, he returned with a ſupply of ten thouſand pounds ſterling; but I do not perceive that even that ſum, large as it was, enabled them to

to make any figure in the field. Before Mary set out for Edinburgh, being no ſtranger to the affection which the inhabitants of that capital bore to the rebel lords, ſhe ordered the town-council to depoſe their provoſt, Douglas of Kilſpindie, who was one of Murray's moſt avowed partizans, and to appoint one Simon Preſton in his room. This ſeems to have been a pretty high ſtrain of prerogative, nor ſhall I enquire whether it was not ſtretched on the occaſion; but it appears from the records, that the council acquieſced, and that Douglas diveſted himſelf of his office with a very good grace; but the ſpiritual concerns of that town were not ſo eaſily ſettled. A. D. 1565.

After the queen's marriage, her huſband had repaired to the high church of Edinburgh, where he heard a ſermon from Knox, who threw out many bitter ſarcaſms againſt the government of boys, women, and Jezebels. The weak-brained king felt himſelf hurt with what he ſaid; and the preacher was ſummoned to appear before the privy-council, which he did, attended by a large number of the chief inhabitants. He was told by ſecretary Maitland, that the king had taken offence at ſome parts of his ſermon, and that he muſt abſtain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days; during which time his place was to be ſupplied by Mr. Craig, a more moderate miniſter, who was brought to Edinburgh for that purpoſe. The

anſwer

A. D. 1565. anſwer of Knox was in his uſual ſtrain; and "that he had ſpoken nothing but according to his text; and if the church would command him either to ſpeak or abſtain, he would obey ſo far as the word of God would permit him." If we are to believe archbiſhop Spotſwood, he added, "That as the king had, for the queen's pleaſure, gone to maſs, and diſhonoured the Lord God; ſo ſhould he in his juſtice make her the inſtrument of his overthrow." The ſame moderate prelate ſays, that the queen burſt into tears at his inſolent expreſſions; and it is from the records of the town council, ſtill extant, uncertain whether the prohibition, ſhort and eaſy as it was, took place. It is to this period I am to refer the reſtitution of the lord Gordon, who, ever ſince his condemnation, had been a priſoner in the caſtle of Dunbar, to the eſtate and honours of Huntley. That nobleman, if we are to believe the hiſtorian of his family, narrowly eſcaped loſing his head, by a paper preſented amongſt others to Mary, and ſigned by her, without looking into it, containing a warrant directed to his keeper for his immediate execution, which he refuſed to obey till he ſaw Mary, and ſhe countermanded the order. There can be no doubt that Murray hated Huntley; but there can be as little of the prevalence of family legends founded upon hereditary differences and groundleſs prepoſſeſſions, of which this ſtory carries the ſtrongeſt marks.

Danger and reſtitution of the lord Gordon.

marks. It confeſſedly reſts upon tradition; and it is difficult to believe, that Murray, who was far from being a ſanguinary man, would have ventured upon ſo deſperate an expedient to get rid of an enemy, eſpecially as that enemy was ſon-in-law to the duke of Chatleheraut, the head of the Reformers. A.D. 1565.

Before Mary and her huſband left Edinburgh, ſhe took her meaſures with the moſt admirable circumſpection. A commiſſion had been granted to Colin Campbell, baron of Glenurquhy, anceſtor to the preſent earl of Breadalbin, for ſuppreſſing the rebellious clan of Gregor. It was naturally to be ſuppoſed that he would favour his friend and nameſake the earl of Argyle; and the commiſſion itſelf claſhed with that of the lieutenancy, which had been granted to the earl of Athol. It was therefore ſuppreſſed; and the king and queen leaving Edinburgh on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, marched towards Linlithgow, Stirling, and Glaſgow, at the head of, at leaſt, ſix thouſand men. The lords had then about them a thouſand horſe; and advanced to Paiſley with a ſhew as if they intended to attack the royaliſts; but inſtead of that, they ſuddenly wheeled off towards Edinburgh. The queen's provoſt attempted to make ſome diſpoſitions to oppoſe them; and two ſhot was fired upon them from the caſtle, which was then commanded by the earl of Mar's brother; Mary is ſucceſsful againſt the rebels,

A.D. 1565. but they entered with little or no reſiſtance by the weſt-gate, and became maſters of the town. They then ſent expreſſes through all quarters to raiſe their friends, and beat up for volunteers, but few joined them; and their utmoſt complement of men did not exceed thirteen hundred cavalry. This was the more damping, as they were well ſupplied with money to pay for recruits; and their danger was immediate, as they received information that the royal army was upon its return. Their heads, according to Knox, were the duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Murray, Glencairn, and Rothes; the lords Boyd and Ochiltree; the lairds of Grange, Cunninghamhead, Balcomie, and Lawers; the tutor of Pitcur; the lairds of Barr, Carnel, and Dreghorne, and the laird of Pitarrow comptroller.

who are ſummoned to their trials.

In the mean while, the queen had ſummoned the caſtle of Hamilton to ſurrender, which was refuſed; and without ſtaying to beſiege it, ſhe directed her march back towards Edinburgh, the earl of Athol having a ſufficient force, in a ſeparate army, for reducing Argyleſhire. I perceive that the earl of Morton commanded the center of the army; and tho' chancellor, and in high confidence with the queen, he is ſaid to have kept up a conſtant correſpondence with Murray. Whatever may be in that, it is probable that the queen having about this time reſtored the earl of Hunt-

ley,

ley, whoſe father long held the place of chancellor, might ſharpen his reſentment. Upon the approach of the royal army, the lords marched to Lanerk; and the queen being apprehenſive that they intended to take poſſeſſion of Glaſgow, was making diſpoſitions to return, when ſhe received certain intelligence that they had marched towards Dumfries, a town fifty miles ſouth of Edinburgh; and lying commodiouſly for ſecuring their retreat to England, if that ſhould become neceſſary. Mary, upon this, directed her march towards Stirling, and took poſſeſſion of Caſtle Campbell, the earl of Argyle's houſe. From thence ſhe made a quick march to St. Andrew's. She had ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed, ſummoning the duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Glencairn and Argyle, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, with others, to repair to that city in ſix days time, to anſwer ſuch things as ſhould be laid to their charge; and the time being now elapſed without their compeering, they were denounced rebels. I cannot help conſidering this as an evidence of Mary's moderation. A.D. 1565.

She juſtly conſidered the county of Fife, and its neighbourhood, as the chief ſeat of rebellion, and reſolved to inflict marks of her diſpleaſure upon them; ſhe therefore ſubjected them to mulcts; and the town of Dundee, the wealthieſt among them, was fined two thouſand marks Scots; a proof that Mary was

She mulcts ſome of the burghs.

A.D. 1565. placable in her revenge; nor do we know of any puniſhment ſhe inflicted upon ſeveral gentlemen, who had actually received money from Murray. Upon returning to Edinburgh, ſhe ordered her army to rendezvous at Biggar, which they did, to the number of eighteen thouſand fighting men. Mary, ever ſince the breaking out of the rebellion, had been at a conſiderable charge in paying a body of mercenaries, who ſerved upon a different footing from that of her other ſubjects; and ſhe appears at this time to have been well ſupplied with money, though a large ſum belonging to her had been ſeized by the earl of Northumberland, when the ſhip that carried it was wrecked upon the Engliſh coaſt. Mary, during all the time of this rebellion, was dreſt in a warlike manner, and rode with charged piſtols; while her huſband was diſtinguiſhed by wearing a ſuit of gilded armour.

Elizabeth privately ſupports the rebels.

It is plain from the evidences that have come to our hands, that the formidable appearance Mary made at this time touched Elizabeth to the quick. The rebel lords had been joined by the lord Maxwell, and ſome others; and they were continually plying Elizabeth with meſſages for money, promiſing, if they were ſupplied, to bring Mary a priſoner into England. Elizabeth, however willing ſhe was, did not chuſe to give the leaſt encouragement to the rebel lords, having ſeen ſo little effect

ſect from the money ſhe had already advanced them. They therefore applied to Mary, offering to ſubmit to her government, provided the Reformed religion might be eſtabliſhed; but they added in the cloſe of the letter, "That if their enemies would ſeek their blood, they ſhould underſtand that it ſhould be dear bought." Mary diſdained to give any anſwer to ſubmiſſions (for they had ſent ſeveral of the ſame kind) attended with ſuch menaces; and advanced with ſuch quickneſs againſt the rebels, that they retired to Carliſle. Elizabeth knew of their intention, and had ſent private orders to Cecil to reinforce the garriſon of that city; and Bedford, in his own name, had promiſed to ſupply the lords with ſome money. A. D. 1565.

who are purſued into England.

Mary and her huſband hearing that the rebels had taken refuge in England, after repoſing ſome time at Dumfries, paid a viſit to Sir John Maxwell of Teiregles, governor of the caſtle of Lochmaben. This gentleman had been deeply engaged with the rebels; but he now returned to his duty, and becoming lord Herries, he continued ever after a faithful friend and ſubject to Mary. Of all the aſſociated lords, none ſtood his ground but the earl of Argyle, who made ſevere repriſals upon the eſtates belonging to Lenox and Athol; but that nobleman, by his after-conduct, ſhewed that he was not actuated by the ſame principle

A. D. 1565. principle as Murray. Mary and her huſband returned to Edinburgh in November. The rebel lords, broken as they were, ſtill gave out that they would prove more than a match for the royal army, if they were ſupported by queen Elizabeth. All ſhe did was to exhort them to patience and ſubmiſſion; but above all things to behave in ſuch a manner as to leave room for a treaty under her own mediation. Matters were in this ſtate, when the duke of Chatleheraut wrote a letter to Mary, filled with proteſtations of duty, and deſiring to have a ſafe-conduct for paſſing over to France. Mary, who knew how little ſhe had to apprehend from that nobleman, whoſe friends and followers in general had forſaken him, when he entered into the rebellion, readily granted his requeſt, though it was oppoſed by her worthleſs huſband.

A new treaty propoſed.

Mary who (upon occaſions) could diſſemble as well as Elizabeth, availed herſelf, to the full, of the advantages ſhe had gained over her rebel ſubjects. She ſent one Yaxly as her agent to Spain, to acquaint that king with the whole proceſs of the rebellion; and one Chalmers of Ormond was ſent firſt to England, and then to France, to complain of Elizabeth's continuing to favour her rebel ſubjects. Elizabeth was informed of thoſe ſteps, and affected to withdraw all kind of countenance or favour from the aſſociated lords; but ſhe named the earl

earl of Bedford, and Sir John Foreſter, as her commiſſioners for opening a treaty, which was to terminate all differences between herſelf and Mary; upon which Mary named the earl of Bothwell and the laird of Ceſford as her commiſſioners; but with an expreſs reſervation, that nothing ſhould be treated of by way of favour to, or reconcilement with, her rebels. A.D. 1565.

Though Mary's affairs at this time were crowned with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſhe might reaſonably have promiſed to herſelf a long and glorious reign, yet ſhe was diſtreſſed in her mind, and on the verge of perdition as to her circumſtances. She had married a man who gave her hourly proofs how unworthy he was not only of her hand but her notice. He was perpetually drunk. He haunted the company which he knew to be the moſt diſagreeable to the queen; and young and beautiful as ſhe was, he had brought infection to her bed. It was in vain that her excellent ſenſe endeavoured to conceal his profligacy, for it broke out on all occaſions; and he brutally abuſed her even at public entertainments. For ſome time, ſhe had recourſe only to her tears; but his worthleſs companions ſuggeſting to him that he was only a nominal king, (though I perceive that all the public acts paſſed in his name as well as Mary's) he rudely and inceſſantly demanded that he ſhould be inveſted with the matrimonial crown. Mary, from a regard to herſelf as well as her ſubjects, Profligate character of Darnley.

A. D. 1565. ſubjects, evaded his requeſt, perhaps in ſuch a manner as ſhewed him he was not to expect to be gratified; and ſhe even hinted, that it was not impoſſible for her to fall upon a way to humble him, by admitting a negotiation with the rebel lords, under Elizabeth's mediation. She had an opening for this from Murray, who applied to Cecil in a moſt humble, if not abject, manner for Elizabeth's interceſſion to procure his pardon from Mary before the ſitting of the 1566. parliament, which was ſummoned to confirm his forfeiture, and thoſe of his friends. He likewiſe employed Melvil, brother to the Memoir writer, to ſollicit his cauſe with Mary, who gave him a flat refuſal of the leaſt favour. When Randolph repreſented to her, that Bothwell was a very exceptionable perſon with the queen his miſtreſs, and begged her to name another commiſſioner, ſhe cut him ſhort by ſaying, that ſhe hated Bedford as much as Elizabeth hated Bothwell. Mary, however, ſeemed to be placable towards the earl of Argyle.

who is at variance with the queen.

Every day now produced freſh jars between Mary and her profligate huſband. Repeated complaints were made of Lenox having abuſed his power; and the king could bear the ſight of none whom Mary ſeemed to favour. He hated Ledington for his abilities; and he became the ſworn enemy of Rizio, whom ſhe continued to employ in her foreign correſpondencies. Mary, to mortify him, ordered that his

name

name ſhould no longer be placed before hers upon the coin, or in public deeds; and did not conceal how much ſhe repented her having made him her huſband. He continued to preſs her for the matrimonial crown. At firſt ſhe put him off, by pretending, that it could not be conferred upon him before he was one-and-twenty years of age; but, at laſt, ſhe plainly told him, that ſhe had done too much for him already; and that the conſent of her parliament was neceſſary for ſuch a ſtep. Mary now found herſelf under ſuch circumſtances, that ſhe began, in good earneſt, to think of uniting all her ſubjects in their duty to her perſon; and the more, as Darnley every hour expreſſed himſelf implacable, to a degree of fury, againſt the proſcribed lords. She was no ſtranger to their conſequence in her dominions; and ſhe knew the value of Murray's ſervices. Morton, who in the minority of the earl of Angus, acted as head of the powerful family of Douglas, Ruthven, ſecretary Maitland, and all the congregationiſts who had not been proſcribed, and had continued in their loyalty, became advocates for mercy towards the exiles, who were reduced to ſo low a paſs, that they ſeemed to be objects rather of compaſſion than reſentment in Mary; for even Murray had courted Rizio, who became an interceſſor to Mary in his favour. Melvil (if we are to believe the Memoirs that carry his name) was then in high A.D. 1566.

A. D. 1566. favour with Mary, and ſeconded all applications in behalf of the exiles; but they met in the perſon of Throgmorton a ſtill more effectual advocate.

Caution and diſſimulation of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth continued to act with aſtoniſhing diſſimulation between Mary and the Scotch exiles. She had ſtrictly enjoined the earl of Bedford to conceal from them, and from the world, that ſhe was conſenting to any favour, either pecuniary or other, that they met with in England; and had ordered him, as of himſelf, to ſend the three hundred harquebuziers, whom they petitioned for, to Carliſle. When ſhe found that Mary was ſuperior to all oppoſition in her own kingdom, ſhe began to think that ſhe had carried her diſſimulation too far. Smith, her embaſſador at the French court, was upbraided on that account; and Elizabeth herſelf was charged with being the author of all Mary's troubles, and the fomenter of the rebellion in Scotland. Smith, by Elizabeth's orders, laid the blame upon Rizio, and other foreigners about Mary's perſon; and pretended that Elizabeth had lent her countenance to the aſſociated lords only to prevent their marriage from taking place, till it ſhould be approved of by the court of France. The cardinal of Lorrain did not fail to promote his niece's cauſe, by declaring, that the French king and court had moſt cordially conſented to the marriage. At laſt, Elizabeth was forced to acquaint the French

French and Spaniſh embaſſadors, that ſhe diſ- A. D. 1566.
approved of the conduct of the Scotch lords, and was ready to give a public teſtimony of her diſliking it. They remained ſtill in the north of England; but they had ſent the earl of Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning to be their agents at the Engliſh court.

She ſeems to abandon the rebels.

The French embaſſador, De Foix, thought he could not do his maſter better ſervice than by dividing the lords from Elizabeth, ſo as to oblige them to depend wholly upon the French court for their pardon with Mary. He privately acquainted the two agents that Elizabeth had entirely given them up; and he offered to introduce them next day into her preſence, to convince them, from her own mouth, of her diſpleaſure at their conduct. He was as good as his word; and Elizabeth, without appearing to be diſconcerted, demanded of Murray how ſuch a rebel, as he had approved himſelf to be to his own miſtreſs, durſt appear before her. She charged him at the ſame time not to preſume to vindicate his conduct, by pretending to have had encouragement from her, for ſhe had given them none. The following was Murray's remarkable anſwer: "Madam, whatever thing your majeſty meant in your heart, we are thereof ignorant; but thus much we know aſſuredly, that we had lately faithful promiſes of aid and ſupport by your embaſſador and familiar ſervants

A. D. 1566. in your name; and further, we have your own hand-writing confirming the ſaid promiſes." If this anſwer is genuine, (which ſome have queſtioned) there could have been no preconcert between Murray and Elizabeth; and we are told, that ſome days after ſhe forced them to come and confeſs upon their knees, in preſence of the French and Spaniſh embaſſadors, that ſhe had never moved them to any oppoſition or reſiſtance againſt their queen's marriage. When they had made this confeſſion, "Now (ſaid Elizabeth) you have told the truth; for neither did I, nor any in my name, ſtir you up againſt your queen: for your abominable treaſon may ſerve for example to my own ſubjects to rebel againſt me. Therefore get ye out of my preſence; ye are but unworthy traitors." It is impoſſible, from the cloſeneſs of Elizabeth's management, and that of Cecil, who befriended Murray, to pronounce, whether the whole of this interview was not a farce agreed upon previouſly to be acted by Murray and his aſſociate. The ſequel makes it ſomewhat probable that it was.

Diviſions in the Engliſh court.

Elizabeth's court was then diſtracted by the diviſions which prevailed between her favourite and her miniſter. Leiceſter knew that Elizabeth had ſecretly given way to Mary's marriage with Darnley; and conſidered himſelf as the victim of her ſtate policy. The exquiſite diſſimulation of Elizabeth was ſuch, that ſhe

ſuffered

ſuffered it to be debated in council, whether ſhe ought to marry the archduke or Leiceſter? The freedoms taken on this occaſion by Cecil and his friends were ſo highly reſented by that proud favourite, that ſhe commanded him not to appear in her preſence; and ſhe admitted Cecil to a greater degree of confidence than ever. That miniſter had never befriended Throgmorton; and had even endeavoured to ruin him with Elizabeth. Throgmorton had long diſſembled his diſcontent; and his zeal to ſerve Elizabeth had, while he was laſt in Scotland, carried him to greater lengths than his judgment approved of, by forming intrigues among the aſſociated lords, and promiſing all they could require on the part of his miſtreſs. He thought that the juncture was favourable for ruining Cecil; and made no ſecret of his having been inſtrumental in deceiving the Scotch lords, by bringing them to truſt to Elizabeth's promiſes. He took an opportunity, in a conference with the two agents, to adviſe them to throw themſelves entirely upon Mary's clemency; and never to rely upon the promiſes of any foreign power. Murray ſeemed penetrated with what he ſaid; and the more, as he plainly perceived that he could have no dependence upon Elizabeth. Upon his repreſenting to Throgmorton the bad ſucceſs he had already met with in his applications to Mary, that great miniſter, who knew how much he A.D. 1566.

was

A. D. 1566. was eſteemed by that princeſs, wrote her a letter of mediation in their favour. It is publiſhed in Melvil's Memoirs, and often reprinted; but as it may be conſidered as a maſter-piece of compoſition, with regard to honeſty, wiſdom, and ſpirit, I can with no propriety avoid giving the reader ſome idea of its contents.

Throgmorton's noble letter to Mary in favour of the rebels.

Throgmorton having been always a declared partizan for Mary's ſucceſſion to the crown of England, begins his letter by laying before her the ſtate of her party in that kingdom; and informs her, that her enemies had formed a deſign to have called her ſucceſſion in queſtion in parliament, had it met in October; but that her friends had found means to have it prorogued to the following ſpring. He adviſes her to abſtain from all foreign connections which might give umbrage to the people of England, and to truſt to the benevolence of her own ſubjects. He thinks, however, that ſhe ought to keep on fair, but general, terms with France and Spain; and that in point of policy, her marriage with Darnley was a wiſe meaſure. He adviſes her to continue temperate and moderate with regard to religion, and not to attempt either to innovate or alter it, by which ſhe certainly would ſtrengthen her party in England. In matters of ſtate, "they (ſays he) who are conſtantly yours, are eaſily retained at your devotion: thoſe who heretofore have borne any favour, and

and by the late occurrences are any way brangled (ſtaggered), will be brought home again when they ſhall ſee your majeſty, now when it is fallen in your hands to uſe rigour or mercy, as you pleaſe, rather incline to the plauſible part, in ſhewing your magnanimity, when you have brought your ſubjects to ſubmiſſion and gentleneſs, as the good paſtor to reduce his ſheep that were gone aſtray, home again to the fold. Thoſe who are yet neutrals, by the ſame means, and true information of your intereſt by law, may all be won to your ſide. This done, when the matter comes in queſtion, your friends will earneſtly preſs your intereſt at this parliament, and you will without controverſy bear it away." A.D. 1566.

Throgmorton next obſerves, that an intimate union of Mary with her ſubjects will make the queen of England her friend; that by pardoning Murray, notwithſtanding all the provocations he had given her, ſhe would ſhew ſhe had been actuated by no difference in religion, and thereby gain the eſteem and affection of the proteſtant intereſt in England, as well as Scotland. He propoſes, that Mary ſhould iſſue a well-penned proclamation for a general pardon; but with an exception of ſome principals. But even they were not to be proceeded againſt to extremes; for ſhe was to require them to depart out of England to what country ſhe ſhould name, and there to remain upon their good behaviour

A. D. 1566. haviour during her pleaſure. "In this mean time, (concludes he) if your majeſty find that this benign uſage of yours ſhall produce ſuch fruit as here ſpoken, your majeſty may further extend your favour, as you find convenient and profitable for yourſelf. For your majeſty hath ſtill the crimes lying above their heads. In the mean time, all who favour them in England, will plead in their cauſe with your majeſty, ſo far as their power extends, as if they were agents for your majeſty. They will in no ways, if they can eſchew it, be again in the queen of England's debt, neither by obtaining of any favour at your hand by her intervention, nor yet for any ſupport in the time of their baniſhment. But rather it may pleaſe your majeſty, that their charges be allowed them of their own lands. By following this advice, which in no ways can be prejudicial to your majeſty, but will much conduce for your intereſt, you may recover the greateſt part of the biſhops of England; many of the greateſt nobility and gentlemen who are yet neutral."

Affairs of the continent,

Together with this letter, (if we are to believe Melvil's Memoirs) Throgmorton ſent, in cypher, a liſt of the names of Mary's Engliſh friends; and aſſured her, that if ſhe behaved in the manner he had adviſed, that ſhe might bid defiance even to Elizabeth herſelf, if ſhe ſhould attack her right of ſucceſſion. Mary was deeply impreſt by Throgmorton's gene-

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rous and manly reaſonings; and was preparing to have carried his advice into execution, when ſhe was diverted from it by the pernicious politics of her mother-in-law Catharine de Medicis. Two French miniſters, Rambouillet and Clernau, were then in Scotland. The firſt was embaſſador from the French king, and inveſted king Henry with the order of St. Michael. The other, Clernau, was an agent for the cardinal of Lorrain. The latter was in the ſecret of a treaty that had been privately concluded between the king and queen-mother of France, and the king of Spain, for the extirpation of proteſtantiſm. In conſequence of this treaty, the duke of Alva had marched with a formidable army into the Low Countries, to ſuppreſs the commotions then beginning there, and which terminated in the independent ſovereignty of the Seven United Provinces, by throwing off their allegiance to Spain. The prince of Orange more than ſuſpected the purport of the treaty, and had retired into Germany; but the counts Egmont and Horn, with other Belgic patriots, were publicly executed for favouring the inſurgents, or, as they were called, the gueuxes, or beggars. A.D. 1566.

The like diſpoſitions were making for exterminating the hugonots in France; and Clernau was inſtructed to obtain Mary's acceſſion to this deteſtable treaty. His ſollicitation was work a fatal alteration in Mary's ſentiments.

A. D. 1566. ſeconded by one Thornton, who brought her a copy of the treaty from the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, her embaſſador in France. This fatal application to Mary was made at a moſt critical time, when ſhe had reſolved to follow Throgmorton's advice in favour of the exiled lords. The two French agents gave a different turn to her ideas. She now conſidered herſelf as in a ſituation to revenge the wrongs that had been done by Elizabeth; to reſtore the religion of her forefathers, which was ſtill dear to her affections; and to humble the party which had offered ſuch groſs inſults to her perſon and dignity. Mary was not equal to the combat between reſentment and prudence. The former prevailed. Her behaviour was altered all of a ſudden; and ſhe talked to Randolph in a ſtrain that ſhewed ſhe was determined to force Elizabeth to recognize her as her preſumptive heir. She ſuffered the re-eſtabliſhment of the maſs in the high church of Edinburgh to be mentioned at her council-board; and had formed a party among the lords, who were to aſſiſt at it in her own palace. She appeared now to be more determined than ever to ſhow no indulgence to the exiled lords; and ſhe even retracted ſome favourable promiſes ſhe made to Argyle's friends; one of Clernau's inſtructions being, that ſhe ſhould carry her rigour towards the exiled lords to its utmoſt extent.

Randolph's letter to Cecil, Feb. 7.

Mary

Mary was the more elevated on this occaſion, as ſhe perceived herſelf to be pregnant; a circumſtance which greatly flattered her hopes. We may, however, ſafely pronounce from Randolph's diſpatches, that her moſt ſecret councils, and her moſt confidential diſcourſes, were betrayed by thoſe about her. He came to the knowledge of her having ſigned the treaty, and of its contents. We can be at no loſs to account for her being thus betrayed, when we reflect, that beſides the king her huſband, the lord Ruthven, ſecretary Maitland, and other proteſtant lords, who were in her confidence, had now confederated for the removal of Rizio, either by death or otherwiſe. In ſhort, it does not appear that Mary had about her a perſon, of any conſequence, who was not in the conſpiracy againſt her favourite, or who was not ſecretly in the intereſt of the exiled lords. Her huſband ſtill continued his factious, lewd, and diſreſpectful behaviour towards her perſon; but Mary had not in her court a friend bold or honeſt enough to tell her, that notwithſtanding the ſplendid title with which ſhe cloathed him, he might ſtill be reduced to the rank of a ſubject. As he continued to be an implacable enemy to the exiled lords, he took Clernau into his favour; and it was reſolved to ſhorten the prorogation of parliament, by fixing its meeting to the twelfth of March. This was freſh matter of conſter-

A. D. 1566. She is betrayed.

A. D. 1566. nation to the exiled lords. Murray renewed his applications to Rizio, and ſeconded them by the preſent of a rich jewel. Rizio was ſenſible how much he was hated by the king and the nobility, and fell in with Murray's intereſt; but was ſoon gained over by Clernau to the oppoſite party.

The nearer the opening of parliament approached, the more plainly Mary diſcovered her intentions in favour of the Roman catholic religion. She had reſtored the popiſh eccleſiaſtics to their ſeats in parliament; ſhe ſuffered maſs to be eſtabliſhed in different parts of the kingdom; and ſhe declared warmly againſt the papiſts being perſecuted for the exerciſe of their religion. The thirtieth article of the treaty of Bayonne partly explains the grounds for this behaviour. It imported, that "Calais, and other places lately belonging to the crown of England, ſhall be delivered to the king of Spain; and he ſhall help and aſſiſt the queen of Scotland, and reſtore her to her kingdom, in chaſing away the queen of England; and helping to deſtroy all ſuch as be affectioned, or make claim to the ſame kingdom." After peruſing this extract, the reader can be at no loſs to account for the reaſons why Mary was ſo ſanguine in favour of popery. She was ſo unguarded in declaring her ſentiments, that the earl of Morton, and the other proteſtant nobility and gentry about her perſon,

perſon, were convinced ſhe intended to reſume the church-lands; and the lords of the articles, who were to prepare the buſineſs for parliament, were entirely devoted to her views; "the ſpiritual ſtate, that is the popiſh eccleſiaſtics (to uſe her own expreſſion in her letter to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow) being placed therein in the ancient manner, tending to have done ſome good anent reſtoring the old religion;" but ſhe was now on the eve of an unexpected cataſtrophe. A. D. 1566.

Rizio's death agreed on;

She had always ſteadily refuſed to grant the matrimonial crown to her huſband; and his brutal behaviour towards her, ſeems to have ruined him in her affections as well as eſteem. We have, however, no evidence of her having put any unbecoming ſlight upon his perſon; and the inſtances of his ill uſage mentioned by Buchanan, and ſome other writers, appear to have had no other foundation than the fondneſs he had for the diverſions of the field, to which he uſed to reſort with a very ſlender attendance. The diſpoſitions made by Mary for opening the parliament, now rendered him a perſon of great conſequence with every one who was either poſſeſſed of church-lands, or favoured the proteſtant religion, or were friends to the exiled lords. The earl of Morton, the lords Ruthven and Lindſay, and ſecretary Maitland, all of them truſted by Mary, were at the head of the oppoſition. In an extract from one of Randolph's

A. D. 1566. dolph's diſpatches, dated the firſt of March, mention is made of a "proclamation by Henry king of Scotland, That with the advice of ſome noblemen and others who had aſſociated together, it was found neceſſary for the good government of the kingdom, to remove ſome dangerous perſons and bad counſellors from the queen, particularly Rizio the Italian, and to puniſh them according to their deſerving where they ſhall be found, though it were in the very palace, and in the preſence of the queen." We can no way account for the meaning of this proclamation, if ſuch a one was made, but by ſuppoſing it to have proceeded from intemperance; and we accordingly find in the ſame diſpatch, that the king took the blame of the whole upon himſelf. The lord Ruthven has left a very particular account of the conſpiracy againſt Rizio, and his death, in which he had a principal hand, and I ſhall uſe it for my chief authority.

Keith's Appendix.

for which the king forms a party.

The lords of the oppoſition had acted at firſt with great coldneſs towards the exiles. Morton, as one of the heads of the family of Douglas, was pleaſed at ſeeing the grandſon of the earl of Angus a king. Ruthven was married to Darnley's aunt. Lindſay had a like connection with the earl of Athol, one of Mary's moſt zealous friends; and Maitland had diſapproved, from principle, of the conduct of the rebels. All of them had promoted the marriage with Darnley; but they ſoon diſcovered him to be

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ſo ſhallow and worthleſs, that they had with- A. D. 1565.
drawn from him all confidence, and even thought his company dangerous, as he was apt to reveal, even to the queen herſelf, every ſecret he was maſter of. So far back as the tenth of February, the king ſent one Douglas to engage Ruthven in a conſpiracy againſt Rizio; but Ruthven refuſed to have any communication of that kind, until he could be aſſured that the king could keep a ſecret; upon which the latter ſwore upon a bible that he ſhould never reveal the lord Ruthven's advice to the queen. The danger in which the lords thought themſelves, their religion and eſtates, ſoon determined them to fall in with the king's views; but they required, by way of preliminary, that he ſhould agree to the recall of the exiles, which he readily granted. Both parties, upon this, drew up articles, to be ſigned by each. The lords bound themſelves to ſtand by the king in all his affairs, cauſes, and quarrels; and to employ all their intereſt for his obtaining the matrimonial crown. They were to maintain his juſt title to the crown of Scotland with their lives and fortunes; and to employ the ſame for the ſupport of their religion as eſtabliſhed by law; and they were to interpoſe with the queen of England for giving her friendſhip and aſſiſtance againſt all foreign princes who ſhould oppoſe the king and his deſigns.

Such

A. D. 1566. Such were the chief articles ſigned by the lords.

The terms of the compromiſe.

The king, on the other hand, promiſed to reſtore and pardon the exiles, and to protect their perſons and eſtates from being accuſed or forfeited in parliament. He likewiſe agreed to the eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant religion, and to ſtand by them as faithful and loyal ſubjects in all their juſt cauſes, actions, and quarrels. Thoſe preliminaries being fixed, the manner of diſpatching Rizio came next under conſideration. Morton and Ruthven propoſed to have him tried by parliament, and hanged in execution of his ſentence. This manly propoſal was far from ſatisfying the king's pride and revenge. He inſiſted upon Rizio's being aſſaſſinated in the queen's preſence, and even in her cloſet; declaring, that if they would not aſſiſt him, he would ſtab him with his own hand. The lords finding that the king could not be diverted from his purpoſe, agreed to the aſſaſſination; and that it ſhould be performed while Rizio was at ſupper with the queen; an indecent familiarity to which Mary had often admitted him. Before the blow was ſtruck, the conſpirators thought proper, on the firſt of March, to prevail with the king to give a bond, in his name, to the earls, barons, freeholders, merchants, and craftſmen, declaring, that what was to be done, was entirely his

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own contrivance, and bound and obliged himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and their ſucceſſors, to keep them free from all trouble for the taking and executing of David Rizio in the queen's preſence, or otherwiſe. It was then agreed, in tenderneſs to the queen, who was ſix months advanced in her pregnancy, that the king ſhould be preſent, ſo as to preſerve her from any danger, while the conſpirators were to enter her cloſet by two doors. It is remarkable, that lord Ruthven had, for ſome time before, been confined to his bedchamber, by a diſtemper which had emaciated him ſo much, that he was ſcarcely able to ſupport the weight of the armour he put on for executing the deed. On the ninth of March, Morton, who was then chancellor of Scotland, took poſſeſſion of the outer paſſages leading to the queen's cloſet, and of the principal ſtair-caſe, while Ruthven and Douglas entered the ſame room by a private ſtair-caſe, which led to the king's apartment. Ruthven found Mary at ſupper with the counteſs of Argyle and Rizio, and the king with his hands about the queen's waiſt. Ruthven, with his helmet on his head, ſeemed to be the moving picture of Death; and with a voice dreadfully hollow, after reproaching Rizio for the bad offices he had done the king, by withholding from him the matrimonial crown, he demanded him to be immediately delivered up;

A.D. 1566.

Manner of Rizio's murder.

A. D. 1566. and in the mean while, Morton and Lindſay, with other conſpirators, preſented themſelves at the principal door. According to the account of this aſſaſſination which Mary ſent to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, ſhe demanded of the king whether he knew of the enterprize; and offered to deliver up Rizio to his trial by parliament, ordering the lord Ruthven to depart from her preſence. Inſtead of obeying, he drew his dagger; and other conſpirators ruſhing in, the lights and ſupper were overturned. By this time, Rizio endeavoured to ſhelter himſelf behind the queen's back, and had taken hold of her gown; but the king holding Mary in his arms, and diſengaging Rizio from his hold, he was carried out of the cloſet, and killed in the anti-chamber by fifty-ſix wounds from ſwords and daggers, moſt of them mortal.

Mary's account of the ſame, and its conſequences.

According to Mary's own account, the veracity of which I ſee no reaſon to doubt, Rizio was wounded while he was clinging to her cloaths, and ſome of the conſpirators ſtood before her with bended piſtols; and Blackwood, a contemporary author, ſays, that either Ruthven's ſon, or one Ker, held a piſtol to her breaſt. The murder being completed, Ruthven returned to the cloſet, where he found the queen reproaching the king with what had happened; then turning to Ruthven, ſhe upbraided him for his barbarity, which he juſtified

tified by appealing to the king, (who confirmed what he ſaid) whether he had done any thing but at his deſire, and by his expreſs order? During this conference, the earls of Huntley, Athol, Bothwell, Caithneſs, and Sutherland, the lords Fleming, Levingſton, and others, with their attendants, were fighting in the outer court with the earl of Morton and his party. The king wanted to join the latter; but Ruthven, who had the inſolence to call for drink in the queen's preſence, deſired him to take care of her majeſty; and going into the outer court, found that Morton had forced his antagoniſts to retreat to their reſpective apartments in the palace. They were there viſited by Ruthven, who told them that nothing had been done but by the king's order and authority. He then acquainted them that the parliament had been prorogued, and that the baniſhed lords were every hour expected at the palace, having been premoniſhed of what had happened. He exhorted the earl of Huntley to be reconciled to the earl of Argyle, and Bothwell to embrace Murray as a friend; and obſerved, that this was the happy time for aboliſhing all animoſities. The lords were in ſuch a ſituation that they thought proper to diſſemble; and Athol even upbraided Ruthven for not admitting him into the conſpiracy. The ſame nobleman then deſired a paſs that he might retire to his own eſtates till the A.D. 1566.

A.D. 1566. public tranquillity was reſettled, which Ruthven promiſing to procure, left the company.

She is barbarouſly treated; Upon his retiring, ſome of the lords began to reflect upon their danger, if the exiles ſhould return that night; and procuring ropes and boards, eſcaped out of a window. According to Mary's letter, their eſcape was a great diſappointment to the conſpirators; for they intended to have hanged Sir James Balfour, who had been appointed clerk-regiſter in the room of Argyle, who was of Murray's party *. The queen remained all the while with her huſband, confined to her chamber, and ſcarcely allowed to ſpeak to her women or domeſtics. In the morning, happening to ſpy from her window Melvil the Memoir-writer, ſhe deſired him to make haſte to acquaint the provoſt and citizens of Edinburgh with her condition, that they might come to her aid. Melvil, with ſome difficulty, paſſed the guards, and performed his commiſſion. The provoſt complained of the backwardneſs of the citizens, on account of their diſſatisfaction with the preſent government; but he ſummoned them, however, and a party of them attended him to the palace. The king, on ſeeing them, ap-

* The accounts of this conſpiracy are not materially different. Sir James Melvil ſays, that the earl of Athol, Tullibardine, ſecretary Maitland, and Sir James Balfour, were permitted to retire out of the palace, and were in great fear of their lives. The truth is, the conſpirators were more aſſiduous in confining the queen than them; ſo that it was eaſy for them to eſcape.

peared

peared at a window; acquainted them that the queen and he were in perfect health; and that nothing had been done but by his command; upon which the citizens retired. By this time, a proclamation had been made at the croſs of Edinburgh, without the queen's knowledge, that all the noblemen and prelates who had aſſembled there for the meeting of the parliament, ſhould leave the town. A.D. 1566.

A more diſtreſsful ſituation than Mary was then in can ſcarcely be imagined; but neither her ſpirit nor underſtanding forſook her. She recollected ſhe had ſtill two expedients in ſtore: the firſt was, to work upon the eaſineſs of her huſband in one of his ſober hours; and the next, to have recourſe to Throgmorton's propoſal of being reconciled to the exiled lords. She had ſeveral times attempted to ſpeak, in perſon, to the provoſt and citizens of Edinburgh; but if we are to believe her own words, ſhe was prevented by the menaces of the conſpirators, "who (ſays ſhe) in our face declared, if we deſired to have ſpoken them, they ſhould cut us in collops, and caſt us over the walls." When the king acquainted her with the expected return of the exiled lords, ſhe told him, that it was none of her fault that they were not ſent for long before. She put him in mind how warmly he had oppoſed their recall, and even the favour that ſhe had ſhewn to the duke of Chatleheraut. When ſhe

A. D. 1566. ſhe reproached Ruthven, who had been always the declared enemy of Murray, with ſo ſuddenly becoming his friend, his anſwer was, "That in obedience to God's command, he heartily forgave all men;" but at laſt his behaviour, and that of the king, grew ſo outrageous that Mary was taken ill, or rather pretended to be ſo, and they left her to her repoſe. When Ruthven retired with the king to his apartment, he prevailed upon him, with ſome difficulty, to admit the earl of Athol to his preſence, and to ſuffer him, with the earls of Sutherland and Caithneſs, the ſecretary, the laird of Grant, and others, to return to their reſpective homes, upon Ruthven's engaging for their fidelity, and themſelves promiſing to return, when called for by the king.

but ſhe gains over her huſband.

Mary, though ſtill under cloſe confinement, found means, her huſband retired, to ſend a meſſage to Melvil, by one of her ladies, deſiring him to take the firſt opportunity of ſpeaking to Murray, when he ſhould return, to acquaint him with all that had been done; and aſſuring him of her eternal love and friendſhip, if he did not take part with the conſpirators; and we accordingly find that Melvil afterwards faithfully followed her inſtructions. This, it muſt be acknowledged, was an artful meaſure; and Mary was equally ſucceſsful in the management of her ductile huſband. In the morning, when he entered her apartment,

ſhe let fall a ſhower of tears, while ſhe repreſented her own barbarous treatment. Darnley was not proof againſt her ſorrows. He ſeemed to relent; and after ſome converſation, he granted her the liberty to name her own female attendants. Upon leaving her, and relating to Morton and Ruthven what he had done, they inſiſted upon his retracting his promiſe, with which he ſeems to have complied. Mary more than ſuſpected his irreſolution; and ſhe ſent for the king, who found her in company with her midwife, as if ſhe had been apprehenſive of an abortion. He was again ſoftened; and gave orders that none ſhould be debarred acceſs to her majeſty, whom ſhe pleaſed to admit. This new conceſſion alarmed the conſpirators. They pretended that ſhe wanted to eſcape amidſt the crowd of her female attendants; upon which the king was weak enough to place centinels at the doors of her chamber. Towards the evening, Murray, and the other exiled lords, arrived at Edinburgh; and the queen ſent for Murray, whom ſhe received with the greateſt tokens of affection. She embraced and kiſſed him, pathetically repreſenting to him her danger, and the inſults ſhe had ſuffered. He ſeemed to be touched, even to the ſhedding tears, at her calamities and condition, eſpecially when ſhe told him, that ſhe was ſure, had he been in Scotland, A. D. 1565.

he

A. D. 1566. he would have prevented her being treated in ſo inhuman a manner.

Behaviour of Murray upon his return.

As Murray had not been active in the tragic ſcene that had lately happened, nor conſenting to the queen's confinement, he appeared, when he next met the conſpirators, with an air that diſapproved of their conduct. The queen, at the ſame time, brought Darnley to a ſenſe of his guilt. Upon his expreſſing his earneſt deſire to be reconciled to her, ſhe pardoned him, on condition of his withdrawing all the guards and centinels from her apartments. In the morning, Murray aſſembled all his own friends, and the conſpirators, in a conſultation. If we are to believe Mary, it was there propoſed to ſend her priſoner to the caſtle of Stirling, till ſhe had conſented to approve of all that had been done; to eſtabliſh the proteſtant religion; and to beſtow the matrimonial crown upon the king. She adds, that if this was denied, they, by all appearance, firmly purpoſed to have put her to death, or to have detained her in perpetual captivity. But Mary, by this time, had entirely obtained an aſcendency over her huſband, and the earl of Murray ſeemed ſtill to be cold in the cauſe of the conſpirators; ſo that they came to no reſolution. Next day the exiled lords and others, with Morton, Ruthven, and the other conſpirators, appeared at court, and fell upon their

their knees to Mary, while a formal ſpeech was made in their behalf by the earl of Morton; and each afterwards apologized for himſelf in the beſt manner he could. A. D. 1566.

Mary ſeemed to take their ſubmiſſion in good part; and, in general terms, promiſed them pardon, in hopes of their behaving better for the future. This aſſurance ſatisfied Murray and the exiles; but was far from being ſufficient to the conſpirators. They drew up a ſet of articles for a ſpecial pardon of all that had been done, which was to be preſented to Mary. She underſtood their intention; and ſhe artfully repreſented to her huſband, that as the conſpirators were ſtill in poſſeſſion of her palace, and continued their guards upon her perſon, her ſigning ſuch a paper could not be conſtrued to be a free act. She therefore inſiſted upon her being reſtored to her full liberty, that they and their followers ſhould remove from the palace, and that they ſhould be replaced by her ordinary guards and attendants. It was in vain for Morton and Ruthven to remonſtrate, with the utmoſt violence, againſt the king's complying with thoſe demands; and to proteſt, that all the bloodſhed which ſhould follow thereupon ſhould fall upon him and his poſterity. Mary was obeyed in every circumſtance; and the conſpirators were diſpoſſeſſed of the palace. The indifference of the earl of Mur- Prudent conduct of Mary.

A. D. 1566. ray ſtill continuing, they ſent a meſſage to the king, to know whether the queen had ſigned the articles they had put into his hands? The anſwer returned was, "that the queen was indiſpoſed, and had gone to bed."

who eſcapes from Edinburgh to Dunbar.

Mary was now ſo completely miſtreſs of her huſband's affections, that ſhe had privately brought him to agree to their eſcaping from Edinburgh to the caſtle of Dunbar, and ſummoning all their faithful ſubjects to their aſſiſtance. This they did without loſs of time. They marched in the dead of night out of Holyrood-houſe, attended by lord Traquair, Arthur Ereſkine, captain of the queen's guards, and two or three other perſons.

Thus ended Mary's troubles on account of the conſpiracy againſt Rizio; and whoever candidly conſiders the whole affair, muſt admit that the aſſaſſination was unprecedented and barbarous in the laſt degree. The conſpirators indeed afterwards alledged, that they intended to have preſerved Rizio, that he might be publicly hanged next morning; and that his being put to death in the queen's preſence, was owing to the violent hatred borne to him by ſome of their own number. This is far from extenuating the fact; as Rizio's only real crime was his being a foreigner, and truſted by his miſtreſs in affairs which ſhe could commit to no other ſecretary. It is not, however,

ever, to be doubted, that Rizio, by his pre- A.D. 1566.
ſumption and inſolence, * had rendered himſelf deteſtable to the Scotch nobility; but it is amazing that Mary, who was a moſt adviſable princeſs, had not (ſo far as we know of) a counſellor or ſervant about her who had the honeſty and courage to repreſent the impropriety of the upſtart's behaviour, and of her giving him her countenance and protection. It ſeems now to be agreed, that all the report of a criminal intercourſe between Mary and Rizio is as improbable as it was malicious; and we have given ſufficient reaſons why, for ſome time before his murder, ſhe was not fond of admitting her huſband either to her bed or her company. The conduct of the conſpirators, both before and after Rizio's death, renders them inexcuſable. Nothing but a thirſt for his blood could have blinded them ſo as

* The reader perhaps may not be diſpleaſed at ſeeing the extract of a letter giving an account of Rizio's effects. "That of the great ſubſtance David had there is much ſpoken, ſome ſay in gold to the value of eleven thouſand pounds. His apparel was very good, as it is ſaid, twenty-eight pair of velvet-hoſe. His chamber well-furniſhed, armour, dagger, pyſtoletts, harquebuſes, twenty-two ſwords. Of all this nothing ſpoyld or lacked, ſaving two or three dagger. He had the cuſtody of all the queen's letters, which all were delivered unlooked upon. We hear of a juill that he had hanging about his neck of ſome price that cannot be heard of. He had upon his back, when he was ſlayn, a night-gown of damaſk furred, with a ſatten dublet, a hoſe of ruſſet velvet." See part of a letter from the earl of Bedford, and Mr. Thomas Randolph, to the lords of the council of England from Berwick, 27th of March, 1566. An original in the Cotton Library, Caligula b. 10. fol. 372.

A. D. 1566. to follow the dictates of a mutable hot-headed youth, with whoſe weakneſs and wickedneſs they were well-acquainted. When the murder was over, their conduct was ſtill more indefenſible; for it appears plainly that they intended to ſtrip Mary of all her power, and to govern in the name of her huſband, whom they conſidered as their creature. The inhuman manner of perpetrating the action in Mary's preſence, when ſhe was above ſix months gone with child, carries with it a ſtill higher degree of guilt, as it endangered her life by an abortion, or tended to make the miſunderſtanding between her and her huſband irreconcileable.

Her vigorous proceedings againſt the conſpirators.

Mary was fully ſenſible of their views, and reſented them accordingly. She made a diſtinction between the crimes of Murray, and the other exiles who had oppoſed her marriage, and the ruffians who were engaged in Rizio's murder. She ſeemed placable towards the former, but irreconcileable to the latter. Her and her huſband's eſcape to Dunbar being now known, the conſpirators applied to the earl of Murray to write in their favour; and the lord Sempil was by them deputed to preſent to her the articles of their pardon, which her huſband had ſaid ſhe would ſign. They were not only rejected by Mary, but ſhe ordered a proclamation to be made, commanding all her ſubjects in the adjacent counties to meet her

at Haddington on the ſeventeenth and eighteenth days of March, in arms, for the defence of her perſon. She ordered, at the ſame time, the lord Erſkine, governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh, to fire upon the town of Edinburgh, if the conſpirators ſhould continue in it; and ſhe omitted no meaſure that could contribute to bring them to juſtice. On the twenty-ſecond of March, "ſhe cauſed ſummon within ſix days to compear before her majeſty's privy-council, under pain of high-treaſon, the earl of Morton, the lord Ruthven, the lord Lindſay, the maſter of Ruthven, the laird of Ormiſtoun, the laird of Brimſtown, the laird of Calder, Andrew Ker of Fadownſide, the laird of Hatton, the laird of Erſiltoun, Alexander Ruthven, brother to the lord Ruthven, Patrick Murray of Tippermuir, Douglas of Wittingham, Mr. Archibald Douglas, his brother, George Douglas, Lindſay of Preſtoun, Thomas Scot, the laird of Cambuſmuhat, Douglas of Lochleven, James Jaffrey of Sheerhall, Adam Erſkine, commendator of Cambuſkenneth, the laird of Moncrief, the ſiar of Karſs, Patrick Wood of Bonnington, Mr. James M'Gill clerk-regiſter, and their accomplices." A. D. 1566.

To ſupport her authority the more effectually, Mary had privately diſpatched meſſengers to the earls of Huntley, Bothwell, and Athol, directing them to raiſe what forces they could, and march to her aſſiſtance. In the mean while,

A. D. 1566. while, the king behaved in a manner that rendered him, if poſſible, more contemptible than ever; for he abſolutely denied that he ever had any concern with the conſpirators, or had ever been conſenting to Rizio's murder; and a proclamation was accordingly iſſued at Edinburgh, declaring the king's innocence in that affair. Mary ſtill kept up her correſpondence with Melvil, who continued his endeavours to detach Murray from his connections with the conſpirators, whom that nobleman ſeemed willing to give up, and ſent Mary a meſſage to that purpoſe. The conſpirators hearing that Huntley and Mary's other lords were advancing towards Haddington, fled to England, where Elizabeth conſented to give them ſhelter. We cannot however imagine, that Murray was ſincere in his profeſſions to Mary, or that he imagined he could be ſafe, if he abandoned his party. Mary however continued to ſhew him a favourable countenance; and had actually paſſed ſpecial pardons to the duke of Chatleheraut, and the earls of Rothes and Glencairn.

She arrives at Haddington,

Mary now ventured to remove from Dunbar to join her friends at Haddington. There ſhe ſealed Murray's pardon; but could not conceal from Melvil her diſlike of the king for his folly and ingratitude. Melvil endeavoured to inſpire her with more favourable ſentiments; and laid the blame upon Douglas, who had a chief

a chief hand in the conſpiracy. Mary, notwithſtanding all Melvil's ſuggeſtions, could not be reconciled to her huſband; and ſhe now treated him with reſerve, or, at beſt, a decent civility. From Haddington, Mary proceeded to Edinburgh, where ſevere proclamations were iſſued for apprehending and puniſhing the conſpirators. About fourſcore of thoſe who had taken poſſeſſion of the palace-court on the night of Rizio's murder, were citizens of Edinburgh; two of whom, at the interceſſion of lord Bothwell, were convicted, and pardoned at the foot of the gallows; and only two of the moſt obnoxious ſuffered death. A. D. 1566.

Readmits Murray into favour.

The ſpirit and prudence with which Mary had conducted herſelf, leave us little room to doubt, that ſhe had great qualifications for government. She now more and more diſcovered the expediency of Throgmorton's advice. She ſaw that even the lords who were beſt affected to her perſon and her cauſe were ſo, chiefly from the hatred they bore to their antagoniſts, and that they were not united even among themſelves. The earl of Huntley was irreconcileable to Murray; and both he and the earl of Athol diſliked Bothwell. Mary was in hopes of being able to fix the earl of Murray unalterably in her intereſt; and even complained to Melvil, who had ſucceeded Maitland as ſecretary of ſtate, of Murray's enemies, who were daily teazing her, and endeavour-

A. D. 1566. deavouring to fill her with ſuſpicions of his keeping up a ſecret correſpondence with the conſpirators. This is a proof that Mary certainly had thoughts of placing the earl of Murray once more at the head of her affairs; but many incidents concurred to fruſtrate her reſolution. Her huſband finding he had loſt her affections, repented of what he had done; and not being in the ſecret of Murray and the conſpirators, he had dropt ſome hints, which Mary was generous enough to communicate to Murray, as if that nobleman deſerved to undergo Rizio's fate. It is here proper to give ſome account of the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, in which the Scotch were at this time materially concerned, though unaccountably overlooked by all their hiſtorians.

Affairs of Ireland.

Shan, earl of Tyrone, who pretended to be O'Neal, or king of all Ireland, had been for ſome years in rebellion againſt Elizabeth, whoſe deputy there was Sir Henry Sidney. Mary ſecretly ſent over one M'Killing, to give O'Neal aſſurances of ſupport; and, at her requeſt, the earl of Argyle actually ſent over ſix hundred men to that kingdom; but with orders to join neither party till he ſhould receive farther directions. Maitland, who was then in exile in England, came to the knowledge of this tranſaction, and imparted it to Elizabeth, who employed Murray and Kirkaldy to divert him, which they did, from his reſolution

reſolution of ſupporting O'Neal. The latter knew nothing of Argyle's change of ſentiments, or that he had ſent orders to Oge, who commanded for him in Ireland, to join the lord-deputy. By this time, O'Neal had been reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs by the Engliſh; but he threw himſelf, without any heſitation, into the hands of his ſuppoſed auxiliaries, the Argyleſhire men, who were baſe enough to cut off his head, and ſend it to Sidney. A. D. 1566.

Even this important ſervice done to Elizabeth by Argyle, through the agency of Maitland, could not bring that cautious princeſs to any declaration in favour of the conſpirators or their friends. All ſhe could be prevailed upon to do was, to connive at their taking ſhelter in England, and to conſent to recal Randolph, (whom Mary now diſliked ſo much, that ſhe had ordered him not to appear at her court) and to ſend Henry Killigrew in his room. Mary was, at this time, doing all ſhe could to unite her ſubjects in her ſervice. Upon her arrival at the caſtle of Edinburgh, ſhe ſet the earl of Arran (who had continued there for ſome years a priſoner) at liberty; but obliged him to find ſecurity for confining himſelf to the caſtle of Hamilton, or within four miles of the ſame, and to ſurrender himſelf when called upon by the king or queen. The earl of Huntley was admitted to the high office of chancellor, in the place of the earl of Morton; Mary's popular conduct.

A. D. 1566. and the queen herſelf undertook to make up all remaining differences among her great ſubjects. The lords of her council had given it as their opinion, that ſhe ſhould continue in the caſtle of Edinburgh till the time of her delivery. Mary took that opportunity of inviting her nobility to a ſumptuous entertainment; and among others, the earls of Argyle, Murray, and Glencairn, who, by Mary's orders, on the twenty-ninth of April reſumed their places at her council-board. All differences between thoſe three lords, and the earls of Huntley, Athol, and Bothwell, were referred to her, and ſeemingly conciliated. I perceive, by the extracts from Randolph's letters, that about this time, ſecretary Maitland was accuſed by Bothwell's ſervants, of an intention to poiſon that nobleman. This charge probably ſprung from the malice which he bore Maitland; but from the abovementioned extracts we learn, that Maitland was under a cloud at court; and that he aſked for leave to retire to Flanders, though we are told that Darnley was more incenſed againſt him than Mary. He kept up a correſpondence with Randolph, who had loſt all credit and favour at the court of Scotland; while Sir Robert Melvil, Mary's embaſſador at London, was highly eſteemed and careſſed by all parties.

Keith's Appendix, p. 167.

The unwholeſome ſituation of Edinburgh caſtle beginning to affect Mary's health, ſhe had

had thoughts of removing to that of Stirling; and made a tour for ſome days in that neighbourhood; where it is ſaid ſhe demanded poſſeſſion of that caſtle, but was refuſed it by the earl of Mar, becauſe he had it in truſt from the ſtates of the kingdom; upon which ſhe returned to Edinburgh. All this while, a ſeemingly amicable correſpondence was carried on between Mary and Elizabeth, though each was jealous of, and hated, the other. Mary ſent agents and meſſengers to the court of France, complaining of Elizabeth's having given ſhelter to the new ſet of Scotch rebels; and the French embaſſador expoſtulated with Elizabeth ſo freely on that head, that ſhe thought proper to forbid the earl of Morton, and his accomplices, to remain longer in England. Upon this, the earl of Morton (the old lord Ruthven being now dead) applied to Sir James Melvil for a recommendation to the elector palatine's ſervice, as he durſt not venture to go to any of the French or Spaniſh territories. Before he could receive an anſwer to this application, he was again privately encouraged by Elizabeth to remain quietly upon the borders; but in the mean time, a myſterious affair broke out between the two courts.

A. D. 1566. Diſſimulation of Mary and Elizabeth.

Mary had always been too ſollicitous in correſponding with her friends in England, and endeavouring to extend their intereſt there.

An account of Rookeſby's myſterious practices.

A. D. 1566. Among others, ſhe kept an agent, one Laſſels, who reſided in the north of England, and had a kinſman, one Rookeſby, who being afraid of a jail for debt, formed a reſolution of flying to Scotland, in which he was encouraged by Laſſels, who was pretty deep in Mary's ſecrets; and he even gave him a letter to that queen. Rookeſby being thus furniſhed, informed Sir Henry Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, who was a declared friend to Mary's ſucceſſion, and himſelf a papiſt, of his intention to repair to Scotland. Piercy had ſome apprehenſions that Mary intended to force Elizabeth to declare her title to the ſucceſſion; and as he wiſhed well to the peace of his country, he engaged Rookeſby, who appears to have been a very worthleſs fellow, to ſend him intelligence of all that ſhould paſs at the court of Scotland, promiſing to make ſo good uſe of it with Cecil, that Rookeſby ſhould be amply rewarded.

Rookeſby arrived at Mary's court, while Randolph was yet in Scotland; and as he appeared there in the light of a fugitive and a ſpy, he was narrowly watched by that reſident, who knew nothing of his connections with Piercy. Rookeſby, according to Sir James Melvil, was introduced to Mary by the biſhop of Roſs, who was a Roman catholic; but Rookeſby, in one of his diſpatches to Cecil,

cil, mentions his being introduced by Melvil himſelf. It is certain that he had ſeveral private converſations with Mary, concerning her Engliſh friends; and that he informed Cecil ſhe kept up a correſpondence with Stanley, Herbert, and Darcy, all of them powerful barons; and that ſhe was in hopes, by their means, of fixing in her party the duke of Norfolk, with the earls of Derby, Shrewſbury, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Cumberland. He added, that Mary intended, as ſoon as matters were ripe, to enter England with an army, and to proclaim her title; and that ſhe had ſent to Laſſels blank letters, for his filling up as he ſhould ſee occaſion. That ſhe intended to ſecure in her intereſt two juſtices of the peace, in every county in England; and that ſhe depended for aſſiſtance upon the Roman catholic powers on the continent. A.D. 1568.

Though I have given thoſe pretended diſcoveries according to Rookeſby, who was now fixed in regular pay, as a ſpy for Cecil, yet we are to make great allowances for his eagerneſs to have his intelligence appear of the utmoſt importance to his patron, who was himſelf but too apt to believe Mary to be a more dangerous rival to his miſtreſs than ſhe really was. I cannot conceive that it ever entered into her thoughts to dethrone Elizabeth, as Rookeſby's intelligence inſinuates, though nothing is more probable, than that if ſhe had had time to form a party,

A. D. 1566. party, ſhe would have endeavoured to force Elizabeth to declare her title to ſucceed her *. Whatever may be in theſe conjectures, it cannot be denied, that Rookeſby was in high confidence with Mary, when ſhe received intelligence from Sir Robert Melvil, that he was in pay to Cecil. Upon the arrival of Killigrew the new embaſſador, Rookesby was ſecretly ordered to correſpond with him; and Killigrew, to give him the greater credit in his vocation as a ſpy, complained of his favourable reception in Scotland, and the encouragement he had received from the queen. Mary, upon this, immediately ordered Rookesby to be put under arreſt, and all his papers to be ſeized, by which ſhe came to the full knowledge of his buſineſs at her court. She found it dangerous to reſent the manner in which her councils had been betrayed to Cecil, becauſe ſhe knew that great part of Rookesby's intelligence was true. He fell upon his knees, and confeſſed all his guilt; and Mary ordered he ſhould be put under cloſe confinement. Killigrew was ſurpriſed at this proceeding; and next time he came to court, Mary told him that ſhe had arreſted Rookesby upon his account; and that ſhe detained him, in order to ſend him priſoner to England, as ſoon as he ſhould be claimed by the queen his

He is diſcovered and arreſted.

* Melvil's Memoirs have given the cleareſt detail of any I have met with, as to this intricate affair; but the author is miſtaken in ſome, but not very material, circumſtances.

miſtreſs.

miſtreſs. Mary thus carefully concealed all the diſcoveries ſhe had made; and ſhe ordered Sir Robert Melvil to make his court to Elizabeth more ſtrongly than ever. A.D. 1566.

Though the earl of Murray was once more in great credit with Mary, yet it was eaſy to perceive, that Bothwell poſſeſſed more of her confidence than any other ſubject. This was very diſagreeable to Murray, who continued to hate Bothwell, notwithſtanding their ſeeming reconciliation. Bothwell encreaſed his diſguſt by the inſolence of his manners, and by devoting himſelf entirely to Mary's ſervice, in defiance of all who had ever oppoſed her. It was the misfortune of Mary to imagine, that Bothwell was the only ſubject ſhe had, who, without any conſideration, either religious or intereſted, was ſincerely attached to her perſon and authority. She believed him to be brave; and ſhe knew that he had a great following, eſpecially towards the borders, notwithſtanding his extravagance and diſſipation. She thought he was the more qualified to do her ſervice, as he never had appeared an advocate for popery, and had always profeſſed the reformed religion. Mary's other particular favourites were the lord Erſkine, and Leſley biſhop of Roſs. Bothwell in great favour.

Such was the ſtate of Mary's court, when in June, finding the time of her delivery approach, ſhe ſeemed to be reconciled to her huſband, Mary is delivered of a ſon.

A.D. 1566. band, and invited her chief nobility to Edinburgh, where ſhe was delivered of a prince, afterwards James the ſixth of Scotland, and firſt of England, on the nineteenth of June. His birth was attended with the moſt exceſſive demonſtrations of joy among all Mary's ſubjects, eſpecially her nobility, and the citizens of Edinburgh. She had been ſo provident, that ſhe ordered Melvil, who acted as ſecretary of ſtate, Maitland not being yet permitted to return to court, to hold himſelf in readineſs to repair to Elizabeth with a letter written by herſelf; but with a blank, to be filled up according to the ſex of the child. Melvil reached London in little more than four days time *. Elizabeth was then at Greenwich; and was informed by Cecil of Mary's delivery. She burſt into tears, though engaged in dancing, and lamented to her ladies, "that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair ſon, while ſhe was but a barren ſtock." Next day Elizabeth gave Melvil and his brother a polite and engaging reception. Among other compliments, Melvil thanked her for having ordered the Scotch rebels to leave her dominions, though he ſaid that there was a report of their being ſtill harboured in England. He likewiſe mentioned the readineſs with which Mary had ordered Rookesby to be arreſted upon Killigrew's

* This was an uncommon diſpatch, as we know of no turnpike roads or regular poſt ſtages eſtabliſhed at that time.

complaint.

complaint. Elizabeth heard all he ſaid with ſeeming ſatisfaction; and Melvil denied, in the name of his miſtreſs, that ſhe ever had encouraged O'Neal in his rebellion. He, at the ſame time, requeſted her majeſty to be godmother to the new-born prince. A.D. 1566.

Before Sir James Melvil left England, he mentioned to Elizabeth Mary's right of ſucceſſion to the Engliſh crown. He was encouraged in this by the ſtate of parties at Elizabeth's court. Leiceſter continued his violent oppoſition to Cecil, who was generally looked upon to be the great obſtacle to Elizabeth's declaring Mary her ſucceſſor. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Pembroke, and other Engliſh noblemen, (who though they favoured Mary's ſucceſſion, had appeared averſe in preſſing it upon Elizabeth) publicly ſaid, that the matter was now altered, ſince Mary was the mother of a prince. Melvil enforced their reaſoning with great art and addreſs; and Elizabeth heard him with complacency. She had, by this time, forced the earl of Northumberland to give up all the letters he had received from Mary, and to make a full diſcovery of her party, and their practices. This knowledge rendered Elizabeth ſtill more cautious, as ſhe found that the friends of Mary were more powerful than ſhe had imagined. When Melvil inſiſted upon her returning an anſwer to his requeſt, Elizabeth acknowledged, that the Sir James Melvil ſent to England.

A. D. 1566. circumſtance of Mary's having a ſon was greatly in her favour; and ſhe heartily wiſhed that the Engliſh lawyers, who were to be conſulted upon the ſucceſſion, ſhould give their opinion to her ſatisfaction. She added, that ſhe would ſend her anſwer to Mary by the nobleman who was to repreſent her at the baptiſm of the young prince. So complete a courtier as Melvil was, was not to be impoſed upon even by Elizabeth; for he ſaw her duplicity through all its diſguiſe; and he left her court with a very bad opinion of her intentions towards his miſtreſs.

Melvil returns to Scotland.

About the time of Melvil's returning to Scotland, Killigrew took his leave for his return; and Mary preſented him with a gold chain, as Elizabeth had Melvil. He carried with him two letters from Mary to Sir Robert Melvil, one to be ſhewn to Elizabeth, and the other to Cecil; the contents of which were intended to deſtroy the diſagreeable impreſſions which Rookeſby's intelligence had made upon Elizabeth. Theſe letters had been requeſted by Sir Robert Melvil, who furniſhed his brother with a ſet of inſtructions for Mary's and his own behaviour, which ſhew the writer to have been an able miniſter. Among other matters that came to light about this time, was a diſcovery made by Mary, of Randolph having ſent three thouſand crowns to the counteſs of Murray, while her husband was a

rebel;

rebel; for which ſhe ordered Randolph to leave her kingdom; and expreſſed her indignation in a letter to Elizabeth, which is ſtill extant. A. D. 1566.

Mary goes to Alloa.

Upon Mary's recovery, ſhe ſpent ſome days at the earl of Mar's houſe at Alloa, where ſhe received the compliments of Caſtelnau the French embaſſador extraordinary, who had been ſent over to congratulate her upon her delivery. Mary had a particular regard for this miniſter (who by the Engliſh is called Mauviſſier); and he applied himſelf to make up all differences, not only between the queen and her husband, but to obtain pardon for the earl of Morton, and his friends. He ſucceeded ſo well, that Maitland was once more admitted into Mary's preſence, and her husband lay with her two nights. Soon after, he attended her and the other noblemen at a hunting-match. We are therefore to give no credit to the groſs aſperſion of Buchanan, who has accuſed Mary of the moſt outrageous behaviour towards her husband at this time. I do not pretend to ſay, that he had recovered her heart, or that he was admitted into any ſhare of the government. He had ſhewn himſelf unworthy of both. It appears, however, from unqueſtionable authorities, that Mary's behaviour towards him was decent and reſpectful; and that his complaints of her aroſe from his own haughty, intractable ſpirit; and at ſeeing

A. D. 1566. himſelf, for his weak, irreſolute, conduct, deſpiſed and deteſted by all parties.

True ſtate of the differences between her and her huſband.

The hunting-match being over, the king returned with the queen firſt to Edinburgh, and then to Stirling. While Mary remained there, the king formed a project of going abroad; and declared, that he had actually a ſhip ready to carry him off. Mary's buſineſs requiring her preſence at Edinburgh, ſhe deſired her husband to attend her thither, which he declined; and his father, the earl of Lenox, who had been, of late, ſeldom or never at court, paid him a viſit; and after being with him two or three days, he returned to Glaſgow, from whence he wrote a letter to the queen. He there informed her, that notwithſtanding his moſt earneſt diſſuaſives by letters, and in perſon, the king perſiſted in his project of going abroad. Mary communicated this letter to her council, who ſeemed to be ſurprized at its contents; and next day the king arrived at Edinburgh, but refuſed to enter the palace, unleſs certain lords, who were then with the queen, were removed from her preſence. This was a demand which muſt have been thought very arbitrary, even in an hereditary king, as the lords excepted againſt were three of the firſt noblemen in the kingdom, and their conduct was unimpeached. Mary behaved with the greateſt decency on the occaſion, even walked into

into the ſtreet, and kindly conducted the king to her apartment, where he remained all night; but ſhe could draw from him no information as to the ground of his diſcontent. Next day, the lords of the council, and the French embaſſador, repaired to the palace, and being admitted into the preſence of the king and queen, they ſaid every thing that was proper to divert him from his reſolution; and offered him all imaginable ſatisfaction, if he thought he had any juſt cauſe of complaint. The behaviour of Mary was affecting and tender. She preſſed his hand, and deſired him for God's ſake to declare whether ſhe had given him any grounds for forming ſuch a reſolution, deſiring him to ſpeak plainly, and not to ſpare even her. He remained in a ſullen humour, denying that he had any deſign to go abroad, or that ever the queen had given him any occaſion of diſcontent; upon which he took leave of the company, and returned to Stirling. A.D. 1566.

The lords of the council were inclined to think, that, as the king had behaved in the manner he did, when ſo fair an opportunity was given him of venting his grievances, the earl of Lenox had given the queen a falſe alarm. They were ſoon undeceived by the certain intelligence they had of his continuing his preparations to go abroad, and by a letter which he wrote to the queen. He there complained

A. D. 1566. plained that her majeſty had not truſted him with ſo much authority, nor was ſhe at ſo much pains, as at firſt, to advance and honour him; that he had no attendants; and that the nobility deſerted his company. The queen anſwered his letter with the greateſt accuracy, and ſtrength of reaſon. She put him in mind how deeply he was concerned in Rizio's murder, and in the alarming danger, and unprecedented treatment ſhe had undergone on that occaſion. She mentioned the tenderneſs with which ſhe had concealed his guilt, and the reſpect with which ſhe treated him afterwards; but that after ſuch a behaviour, it was no wonder if ſhe thought that his advancement was too haſty, as it had brought herſelf into ſuch peril. With regard to his other complaints, ſhe ſaid, that he himſelf was to blame, if he was not attended, as ſhe had always offered her own ſervants; that he had behaved in the moſt diſobliging manner to the nobility, and had even refuſed to admit into his room ſuch of them as ſhe had appointed to be about his perſon. She added, that "if the nobility abandon him, his own deportment towards them is the cauſe thereof: for if he deſire to be followed and attended by them, he muſt, in the firſt place, make them to love him; and to this purpoſe muſt render himſelf amiable to them: without which, it will prove a moſt difficult taſk for her majeſty to regulate this point, eſpecially

to

to make the nobility conſent that he ſhall have the management of affairs put into his hands, becauſe ſhe finds them utterly averſe to any ſuch matter *." I have been the more expli- A. D. 1566.

* In repreſenting the above facts relating to Mary and her huſband, I have paid little or no attention to the allegations brought by Buchanan, and Mary's other enemies, againſt her. They could be informed only at ſecond hand; and the intereſt they had in aſperſing her perſon and character is well known, and I think muſt ſtrike every candid reader with conviction of their falſhoods. The general laws of hiſtory, therefore, require other evidence, if it can be had, and ſuch, fortunately for Mary's memory, preſent themſelves. The firſt is a letter from the lords of the privy-council of Scotland to the queen-mother of France, dated October the eighth, 1566, and ſent by ſecretary Ledington, who it ſeems was now reſtored to that poſt, to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the twenty-fourth of October following. The next evidence is a letter from Monſieur le Croc, the French embaſſador in Scotland, to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the queen of Scotland's embaſſador in France. I conſider the firſt of thoſe letters as a ſtate-paper, which has ſufficient authenticity to eſtabliſh the facts it contains, otherwiſe there muſt be an end of all hiſtorical evidence; but were it deficient for that purpoſe, I think its authority is put beyond all queſtion by its remarkable coincidence with le Croc's letter, which contains ſome particulars that are different from that of the lords of the privy-council, but none that affects any material point. The lords ſay, that the king took leave of the queen, and that they were of opinion the earl of Lenox had given her majeſty a falſe alarm. They likewiſe mention, that he diſclaimed his intending any voyage, or having any diſcontent; and declared freely, that the queen had given him no occaſion for any. Le Croc does not mention the laſt circumſtance; but ſays, that when he left the queen, he told her ſhe ſhould not ſee his face for a long ſpace, and then took leave of him, and the lords in preſence. Theſe little immaterial variations in the two narratives ſtrongly confirm the veracity of both; for had their authors been in concert, a ſtroke of a pen would have removed them; not to mention, that le Croc, who was a miniſter of age and experience, durſt not have ventured to obtrude a falſhhood upon his court. His letter is as follows:

A Letter

A.D. 1566. cit with regard to this critical interview, because it is of the utmoſt importance for clear-

A Letter from Monſ. Le Croc, the French ambaſſador in Scotland, to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the queen of Scots ambaſſador in France.

" Monſieur,

" On the twenty-ſecond day of the laſt month, your brother, Mr. Bethune, arrived at Stirling, where he found this queen in good health, as likewiſe the prince her ſon, who is a very fine child; and thrives ſo well, that againſt the time of his chriſtening his god-fathers will feel the weight of bearing him in their arms. They are lookt for about the end of this month. The queen is now returned from Stirling to Liſleburgh, as being vacation-ſeaſon, which, as you know, continues in this country from Auguſt until Martinmaſs, and during which, the nobility are convened to look after the publick affairs of the queen and her realm. The king, however, abode ſtill at Stirling; and he told me there, that he had a mind to go beyond ſea, in a ſort of deſperation. I ſaid to him what I thought proper at the time; but ſtill I could not believe that he was in earneſt. Since that time, the earl of Lenox, his father, came to viſit him; and he has written a letter to the queen, ſignifying, that it is not in his power to divert his ſon from his intended voyage; and prays her majeſty to uſe her intereſt therein. This letter from the earl of Lenox the queen received on Michaelmaſs day in the morning; and that ſame evening the king arrived here about ten o'clock. When he and the queen were a-bed together, her majeſty took occaſion to talk to him about the contents of his father's letter, and beſought him to declare to her the ground of his deſigned voyage: but in this he would by no means ſatisfy her. Early next morning the queen ſent for me, and for all the lords, and other counſellors. As we were all met in their majeſties preſence, the biſhop of Roſs, (John Leſlie) by the queen's commandment, declared to the council the king's intention to go beyond ſea, for which purpoſe he had a ſhip lying ready to ſail; and that her majeſty's information hereof proceeded not from the rumour of the town, but from a letter written to her by his own father, the earl of Lenox: which letter was likewiſe read in the council. And thereafter the queen prayed the king to declare in preſence of the lords, and before us, the reaſon of his projected departure, ſince he would not be pleaſed to notify the ſame to her in private betwixt themſelves. She likewiſe took him by the hand, and beſought him for God's ſake to declare if

ſhe

ing up Mary's character as to her husband's unhappy fate, and her more unhappy connections with Bothwell.

A. D. 1566.

she had given him any occasion for this resolution; and entreated he might deal plainly, and not spare her. Moreover, all the lords likewise said to him, that if there was any fault on their part, upon his declaring it, they were ready to reform it. And I likewise took the freedom to tell him, that his departure must certainly affect either his own or the queen's honour; that if the queen had afforded any ground for it, his declaring the same would affect her majesty; as, on the other hand, if he should go away without giving any cause for it, this thing could not at all redound to his praise. Therefore, that since I was in this honourable employment, I could not fail, according to my charge, to give my testimony to the truth of what I had both formerly seen, and did presently see. After several things of this kind had passed among us, the king at last declared that he had no ground at all given him for such a deliberation; and thereupon he went out of the chamber of presence, saying to the queen, "Adieu, Madam, you shall not see my face for a long space." After which, he likewise bade me farewel; and next turning himself to the lords in general, said, "Gentlemen, adieu." He is not yet embarked; but we receive advertisement from day to day that he still holds on his resolution, and keeps a ship in readiness. It is in vain to imagine that he shall be able to raise any disturbance; for there is not one person in all this kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, that regards him any farther than is agreeable to the queen. And I never saw her majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured; nor so great a harmony amongst all her subjects as at present is, by her wise conduct; for I cannot perceive the smallest difference or division. I suppose your brother, Mr. Bethune, Mr. Thornton, and other friends, write you so amply concerning all matters, that I need trouble you with no more. This queen hath commanded me to write to the queen her mother-in-law, (queen-mother of France) touching the promise which the late king her father-in-law made, be ratified to you by the late king her husband, and afterwards by the king now reigning. Mr. Thornton can inform you what I have wrote thereanent. And I beg you will believe that I will as chearfully perform any thing that concerns you, as you can desire me; for I am very much beholden to you, both for the good offices you do me yourself, and for those I receive from your friends here; for all which I render you my most humble

A. D. 1566.

Her conduct vindicated.

No hiſtorian can poſitively pronounce any judgment upon the real intentions of Darnley in this froward, pettiſh, proceeding. If, as Mr. Knox has aſſerted, (and I believe very truly) Darnley complained to the courts of Rome, Spain, and France, that the diſorders of Scotland were owing to the maſs and popery not being again erected; and laying all the blame upon the queen, as not managing the catholic cauſe aright, we obtain ſome light as to his conduct. A youth ſo hot-headed and ambitious as he was, might very readily flatter himſelf with a ſcheme of ingratiating himſelf with the popiſh powers upon the continent at Mary's expence; nor is it at all un-

thanks. The cardinal of Lorrain acquaints me, that I muſt remain here about the queen two months longer than was in my commiſſion; and aſſures me, that money for the defraying of my charges ſhall be ſent by my ſon, who is to come hither in the retinue of the count de Briene. I wiſh it may be ſo; for in the mean time I lay out a great deal of money. Though ſtill I be not able ſufficiently to expreſs the honour and bounty the queen here ſhews me; for ſhe often prays me to aſk money from her, or any other thing I ſtand in need of. All the lords likewiſe open their purſes to me, and teſtify a deſire that I may not go away. However, I am hopeful (pleaſe God) to return immediately after the baptiſm is over. You will be informed that the nobility here do write an account of all things they and I were, and are daily, witneſſes thereof, to the king and queen of France, and the cardinal of Lorrain. This is all I have to ſay at this time, except to recommend myſelf moſt humbly to your favour, in which I beſeech you to allow me both to live and die. I pray God, Monſieur, to grant you long life and health. From Jedburgh, this fifteenth of October, 1566.

Your moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

Le Croc."

likely,

likely, that they put Mary in poſſeſſion of ſome of his letters. Thoſe particulars, however, have no relation to her conduct, and ſerve only to give us a higher idea of her prudence and patience. She often unboſomed herſelf to Sir James Melvil, and ſhewed prodigious ſenſibility of her condition, the behaviour of her huſband, and her apprehenſions that the earl of Bedford, who was to repreſent Elizabeth at her ſon's baptiſm, would interceed for Morton and his aſſociates. She had already, at Murray's requeſt, pardoned two of them, Ormiſtoun and Elphinſton; but Morton, who had laid aſide all thoughts of going abroad, remained, in a moving ſtate of life, between the borders of Scotland and England. He had availed himſelf of Bothwell's unpopularity, who had been by Mary appointed lord-lieutenant of the marches (a truſt which was thought formerly to be of too great importance to be repoſed in any one ſubject); and had formed a ſtrong party among the borderers, particularly the Scots, the Eliots, and the Maxwells. A. D. 1566.

Ever ſince the queen's marriage, the borderers of both kingdoms had been in a ſtate of hoſtility; and complaints were daily paſſing between the two courts on that account. Upon Mary's replacing the earl of Bothwell in his lieutenancy, which he held under her mother, the laird of Cesford, warden of her middle marches, had declared himſelf Morton's friend. She marches to the borders.

A. D. 1566. Buccleugh, one of the moſt powerful barons in thoſe parts, had followed his example; and the Eliots had, in a manner, put themſelves under the protection of the Engliſh wardens. The lord Maxwell was likewiſe Bothwell's declared enemy; and his inſolent behaviour was ſuch, as ſeemed to juſtify their oppoſition. Mary loved to appear in the field, and to act perſonally in a military as well as civil capacity. She valued herſelf upon imitating the moſt renowned of her predeceſſors; and ſhe had always found it attended with ſingular advantages to her perſon and authority. The differences between her and her huſband had endeared her to her people; and whatever private animoſities were in the kingdom, all of them were united in her ſervice. The open diſreſpect that had been ſhewn to her lord-lieutenant by the aſſociations of his enemies, (among whom was the lord Hume) called for a vigorous aſſertion of her authority; and ſhe reſolved to hold juſtice-courts (or, as they are called, airs) at Jedburgh, and other places near the borders, for bringing the delinquents to juiſtce. While ſhe was preparing for this progreſs, ſhe ordered her lieutenant, the earl of Bothwell, to ſecure as many of them as poſſible. They had foreſeen this, and were upon their guard. Bothwell depending more upon his commiſſion, than any armed force he carried with him, marched into the province of Liddeſdale,

Liddeſdale, where their chief ſtrength lay; but they were ſo much upon their guard, that he was attacked by one John Eliot of the Park, and ſo deſperately wounded, that he was carried home to his own houſe at Hermitage. A. D. 1566.

Mary was then at Jedburgh, attended by her ſubjects in arms, according to proclamation. She knew that the aſſociation formed by her borderers was only againſt Bothwell; and that her preſence alone could prevent any farther diſagreeable conſequences. The inſurgents had declared, (as appears by a letter to Cecil from the earl of Bedford) that they would live and die with Ceſford, and withſtand Bothwell, unleſs the queen came in perſon. Mary had no time to loſe. As the aſſociation was ſtronger perhaps than ſhe imagined, ſhe immediately ſet out in perſon to viſit Bothwell, and to obtain from him proper informations. Perhaps gratitude might have had ſome influence upon her on this occaſion; and ſhe travelled from Jedburgh to Bothwell's houſe, which is about eighteen miles, as is ſaid, of very bad road; and finding Bothwell in no imminent danger, ſhe converſed with him for a few hours, and returned the ſame day to Jedburgh. Such are the particulars of the famous viſit paid by Mary to Bothwell, which has all the appearance of being a prudential, if not a neceſſary, meaſure; and had it not been for the fatal ſteps taken afterwards by Bothwell, I may venture

She viſits Bothwell, who is wounded.

Dated Aug. 3.

A. D. 1566. ture to ſay, that her viſiting him would have been conſidered by impartial poſterity as a noble inſtance of firmneſs and humanity *.

Mary falls dangerouſly ill.

Upon Mary's return to Jedburgh, ſhe fell ill of a violent fever, which ſome of her hiſtorians have partly aſcribed to the anguiſh of mind ſhe had ſuffered on Bothwell's account, as if ſuch a fatigue as ſhe had undergone might not have affected the ſtrongeſt conſtitution, when added to her anxiety of mind, on account of the ſtate of public affairs †. She lay in a ſwoon for two hours; and recovering from

* The ingenious and accurate author of an Inquiry Hiſtorical and Critical into the Evidence againſt Mary Queen of Scots, to whoſe work I am greatly obliged in this part of my hiſtory, has very fully vindicated Mary's conduct in this interview; and nothing can be more plain, (notwithſtanding the efforts of certain ſyſtematic writers of her hiſtory to the contrary) than that the dangerous ſtate of her affairs on the borders, at that time, gives her viſit to Bothwell the air of a military, rather than an amorous excurſion. I ſhall only add one obſervation to thoſe made by that writer; and it is, that when Mary was really in love, as ſhe was with Darnley, before ſhe married him, ſhe was not ſatisfied with a haſty viſit like that now paid to Bothwell, but remained in his room, and attended him perſonally during his illneſs.

† If Mary was at this time ſo deeply engaged in a criminal paſſion for Bothwell, as that her life was endangered on his account, ſhe is the only abandoned votary of Venus to be met with, perhaps, in hiſtory, who could be contented with a ſlight interview, when it was in her power to have invented a thouſand pretexts (eſpecially conſidering the journey ſhe had made that very day through almoſt impaſſable roads, and as October was then far advanced) for obtaining a longer indulgence in her lover's company. The hiſtorians, therefore, who think that Mary was then diſtractedly fond of Bothwell, muſt form their ideas of womankind not upon the models of nature, but upon the characters exhibited by Madam and Monſieur Scudery, and other romance writers.

that,

that, ſhe became delirious. Her ſenſes returning, ſhe prepared for death with becoming piety and reſignation; but recommended her ſon, in the moſt earneſt manner, to the guardianſhip of the queen of England, whoſe miniſters and party in Scotland were the moſt determined enemies that Bothwell had. Is this a proof of the anguiſh of mind ſhe was ſuffering on his account? Is it not an evidence that criminal affections had then no place in her heart? Mary's youth, and ſtrength of conſtitution, got, at laſt, the better of her diſeaſe. While ſhe lay ill, her huſband received notice of her danger, and paid her two viſits at Jedburgh; but parted with very little ſatisfaction on either ſide. By a letter from le Croc, to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, that miniſter ſeems to think that her illneſs was occaſioned, in a great meaſure, by her reſentment at the injury ſhe had received from her huſband. "You know very well (ſays he) that the injury ſhe has received is exceeding great, and her majeſty will not forget it." Le Croc afterwards gives his ſentiments with great freedom, both of the queen and her huſband, with whom he had ſeveral long converſations at Jedburgh. He blames the latter for his haughtineſs in not humbling himſelf as he ought; and the queen for her ſuſpicions of ſome contrivance, when ſhe ſaw any one nobleman ſpeaking with the king.

A. D. 1566.

Dated Edinburgh, December 2.

A. D. 1566. king *. Buchanan has given us a moſt lamentable picture of the king's repentance, and Mary's implacable hatred of his perſon during this interview; and that he came to Jedburgh by long journeys. Le Croc, who was on the ſpot, on the other hand, in a letter dated the twenty-fourth of October, blames the king, who was at Glaſgow, for not having then come to Jedburgh, "although (ſays he) he has both received advertiſement, and has had time enough to come, had he been willing. I cannot excuſe him for this fault."

She recovers, and correſponds with Elizabeth.

During Mary's illneſs, the lords of her privy-council, among whom I find the earls of Murray and Bothwell, on the twenty-fifth of October (ſo that Mary was not then pining for Bothwell's abſence) publiſhed a proclamation for preſerving the publick tranquillity. Upon her recovering her health, ſhe ſet out upon a tour through the borders, on her return to

* Had ſhe not reaſon from his former conduct, and from his haughty behaviour, even when he was at Jedburgh? Is it poſſible to find a more diſtreſsful ſituation of mind than what muſt ariſe from the reflections of a woman, who like Mary, in the bloom of youth, had refuſed her hand to the greateſt princes in Europe, and had given it in marriage to a ſubject, who had made ſuch ungrateful returns, and behaved to her ſo brutally as Darnley had? A woman of leſs delicacy than Mary, would have found perhaps ſome relief in the thoughts of a divorce; but that ſeems not to have entered her mind, though I believe it had been ſuggeſted to her by ſome of her friends abroad; ſo that ſhe had now no proſpect but that of her being aſſociated during the remainder of her life, with a worthleſs, irreconcileable, profligate.

Edinburgh.

Edinburgh. She viſited Kelſo, the Engliſh caſtle of Werk and Hume, Langton, and Wedderburn. Having ſome deſire to ſee Berwick, ſhe was met by Sir John Foreſter, the earl of Bedford's deputy, with about threeſcore gentlemen; ſhe being attended by eight hundred, or a thouſand horſe. The reader, in * Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, will find a paſſage well worth his attention, with regard to ſome particulars of this journey. The nature of Fo-

A. D. 1566.

Letter from ſecretary Maitland, Nov. 19.

* I have already hinted at my difficulties with regard to the authenticity of Melvil's Memoirs. The writer, whoever he was, has certainly committed a groſs anachroniſm in ſuppoſing, that Mary's journey to Jedburgh, and Bothwell's wounds, were performed after her ſon's baptiſm, which was on the ſeventeenth of December.

"After the baptiſm, and parting of the embaſſadours, her majeſty, deſirous to put good order upon the borders, ſent the earl of Bothwell before, who, in the purſuit of thieves, was hurt. Her majeſty paſt afterwards to Jedburg herſelf, where the earls of Bothwell and Huntley enterpriſed the ſlaughter of the earl of Murray; but the lord Hume came there with forces, and prevented the enterprize. Her majeſty returned by the Merſe, and deſired to ſee Berwick afar off, where ſhe was honoured with many ſhots of artillery; and Sir John Foſter, warden upon the Engliſh border, came and conferred with her majeſty for keeping of good order. And the mean time, while he was ſpeaking with her majeſty on horſe-back, his courſer did riſe up with his foremoſt legs, to take the queen's horſe by the neck with his teeth, but his feet hurt her majeſty's thigh very ill. In continent, the warden lighted off his horſe, and ſate down upon his knees, craving her majeſtie's pardon, for then all England did much reverence her: her majeſty made him to riſe, and ſaid that ſhe was not hurt; yet it compelled her majeſty to tarry two days at the caſtle of Hoome, until ſhe recovered again. The king followed her whitherſoever ſhe rode, but got no good countenance. So that finding himſelf ſlighted, he went to Glaſcow, where he fell ſick, it being alledged, that he had got poiſon from ſome of his ſervants."

A. D. 1566. reſter's truſt did not ſuffer him to admit Mary into Berwick; but while ſhe was taking a weſt view of the town, ſhe was ſaluted with a full diſcharge of the artillery, and received all the honours that were due to her rank. When ſhe arrived at Dunbar, ſome diſpatches from England, ſent her by Sir Robert Melvil, gave her ſo much ſatisfaction, that ſhe wrote a moſt polite letter to the privy-council of England. She there thanked Elizabeth for all her good offices; and mentioned that, as a mark of her ſincerity, ſhe had, when ſhe thought ſhe could not live above twelve hours, left her ſon to Elizabeth's ſpecial care and protection. She mildly put them in mind of her right to the ſucceſſion; but ſaid, that ſhe had no intention to preſs her good ſiſter on that head, further than ſhould come of her own pleaſure." Yet, (added ſhe) becauſe in that caſe we will be judged by the laws of the realm of England, we do effectuouſly require you to have reſpect to juſtice with indifference, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe the queen your ſovereign to put the ſame matter in deliberation. As to us, we will no ways inſiſt therein, till ſuch time as it ſhall pleaſe herſelf to give us warning." It is now proper to attend the affairs of England.

Debates of the Engliſh parliament about the ſucceſſion.

The houſe of commons at Weſtminſter, and indeed the nation in general, continued to be divided in their ſentiments as to the right of ſucceſſion in the houſes of Stuart and Gray.

The

The debates on that head were unuſually warm, and diſpleaſing to Elizabeth. By principle, ſhe undoubtedly favoured the houſe of Stuart; but ſhe ſtill thought that any declaration in favour of Mary muſt render her party too formidable in England; and ſhe endeavoured to ſilence all debates upon that head, by pretending, that ſhe intended herſelf to marry. The members, not ſatisfied with this declaration, preſſed upon her a nomination, as being the only means for enſuring her ſafety. A committee of all the privy-counſellors, members of the houſe, and forty-four others, were named to demand a conference with the lords, who joined them in addreſſing Elizabeth to know her ſentiments with regard to her ſucceſſion. Her anſwer was peeviſh (though ſhe hinted that ſhe was inclined to marry), and, as uſual, indeciſive. This anſwer being reported to the houſe of commons, threw it into a freſh flame; and Dalton, one of the members, took occaſion, from a pamphlet which had been printed at Paris, in favour of Mary's ſucceſſion, to throw out ſome very diſreſpectful words againſt her and her ſon; for which he was ſummoned to appear next day before the privy-council. Dalton there made an apology that he meant not to attack the houſe of Stuart, but the principles of the pamphlet-writer. His offence was remitted to the houſe; and Elizabeth ſent it a meſſage A.D. 1566.

A. D. 1566. againſt meddling any farther in the affair of the ſucceſſion. The members reſented this meſſage; and a queſtion was put by Paul Wentworth, whether the meſſage was not a breach of privilege? Before the debates upon this queſtion were finiſhed, Elizabeth ſent for the ſpeaker, and ſtrictly enjoined him againſt admitting any farther motions on that ſubject; and ſoon after ſhe put an end to the ſeſſion. This was a favour for which Mary returned her thanks to Elizabeth, who was far from intending to promote her title: all ſhe meant was, to diſcourage the houſe of Gray, being determined to keep the title to her ſucceſſion in her own breaſt.

Elizabeth abates in her demands upon Mary.

During the courſe of thoſe debates, Elizabeth had many opportunities of knowing the ſtrength of Mary's party in England; and ſhe reflected with uneaſineſs on the ſtubbornneſs of her parliament as to the ſucceſſion, and how narrowly ſhe had avoided a breach with it, on that account; this being the only period of her long reign that threatened ſo diſagreeable an event. To give Mary a farther earneſt of her affection, ſhe ordered the earl of Bedford to aſſiſt at the ceremony of the baptiſm of the prince of Scotland. He received a ſet of inſtructions, charging him to touch, though gently, on her diſlike of Mary's behaviour with regard to her marriage; and to make a great merit of her having diſcouraged all attempts

tempts made againſt her right of ſucceſſion, and having puniſhed the offenders. He was to complain of the reception which Mary had given in Scotland to certain Engliſh fugitives. With regard to the confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh, Elizabeth made a great abatement of her former demands. "Our meaning (ſaid ſhe) is to require nothing to be confirmed in that treaty, but that which directly appertains to us and our children, omitting any thing in that treaty that may be prejudicial to her title, as next heir after us and our children; all which may be ſecured to her by a new treaty betwixt us. And for her ſecurity, ſhe may have from us an engagement, that we will never do or ſuffer any thing that may be to the prejudice of her title, and ſhall declare againſt any who ſhall invade the ſame. You may perſuade her that this manner of proceeding is the way to avoid all jealouſies and difficulties betwixt us, and the only way to ſecure the amity." Among other inſtructions given to the earl of Bedford, one was, that the will of Henry the eighth ſhould be examined, according to Mary's deſire; an affair which demands explanation. A. D. 1566.

Account of Henry the eighth's will.

The parliament of England had paſſed an act, empowering Henry the eighth to limit and diſpoſe of the ſucceſſion of his crown to ſuch perſon or perſons as he ſhould appoint by his laſt will made in writing, "and ſigned with his

A. D. 1566. his moſt gracious hand." Henry delayed making his will till the thirtieth of December, 1546, about four weeks before his death, when the king was ſo unwieldy, that a committee of the council was appointed to put a ſtamp, imitating the king's hand-writing, and the royal ſignet, to thoſe acts which required either. By this will, upon failure of the iſſue of his own body, the lady Frances Brandon, then her ſiſter, and failing them, their next heir of kin were to ſucceed to the crown of England. By the ſame will, the princeſs Elizabeth was to ſucceed the princeſs Mary, if the latter ſhould die without iſſue. This will had certainly never been ſigned by Henry; nor does it appear, indeed, that he ever intended it ſhould take place. Secretary Maitland had diſcovered, that when Henry was almoſt in the article of death, if not already dead, one William Clark, ſervant to Thomas Heneage, had put the ſtamp to it; and Maitland appealed to the depoſition of lord Paget for the truth of this fact; and that a few gentlemen had been at the ſame time called in to ſign the will as witneſſes. He likewiſe deſired that the marquiſſes of Wincheſter and Northampton, the earl of Pembroke, Sir William Petre, Sir Harry Nevil, Sir Maurice Berkley, Sir Anthony Denny, Dr. Butts, (who was body-phyſician to Henry) and ſome others ſhould be examined, and their depoſitions recorded in chancery.

It

A. D. 1566.

It was by no means for the intereſt of Elizabeth that this will ſhould appear; nor was ſhe willing the public ſhould be put in mind, that her ſiſter and ſhe could not at the ſame time be the legitimate daughters of Henry. Beſides this, it broke in upon her favourite ſcheme of keeping the right to her ſucceſſion indetermined. The partizans of the houſe of Suffolk, on the other hand, urged the act of parliament, which had impowered Henry to limit his ſucceſſion; a point which Elizabeth did not chuſe to diſcuſs. From Maitland's letter, and the defence of Mary made by the biſhop of Roſs, it is probable that they had ſeen the will; but it is certain Elizabeth diſregarded it ſo much, that it was not at that time forthcoming, nor recovered till the reign of queen Anne. Upon the whole, therefore, it is almoſt certain, that Elizabeth, by concealing her father's will, or ſuffering it to be concealed, diſapproved of its deſtination, and ſecretly favoured Mary's ſucceſſion.

Policy of Elizabeth.

Beſides the above inſtructions given to the earl of Bedford, he was ordered by his miſtreſs to touch upon the Iriſh affairs, and to thank Mary for her good offices with the earl of Argyle, in preventing him from aſſiſting her rebels. He was likewiſe to propoſe a perpetual treaty of friendſhip between the two crowns, and ſecretly to repreſent to ſuch of the nobility as ſeemed to favour ſuch a meaſure, that it

Earl of Bedford's inſtructions.

A. D. 1566. it was the only method of aboliſhing all jealouſies and heart-burnings between the queens. One part of Elizabeth's conduct upon this occaſion, though immaterial in itſelf, gives us an inſight into her character and ſituation at this time. She reſented Mary and her miniſtry's treatment of Tamworth, as above related, ſo much, that ſhe joined him in the execution of ſome parts of the earl of Bedford's commiſſion, with particular expreſſions in his favour. When ſhe reflected more cooly, however, how diſreſpectful this ſtep muſt appear to Mary, ſhe retracted Tamworth's commiſſion.

An account of a propoſal made to Mary for a divorce.

Bothwell was now perfectly recovered of his late wounds, and appeared with more luſtre than ever at Mary's court, where he ſeemed to have the chief direction. She ſtill reſided at Craigmiller, where a very extraordinary ſcene paſſed, which I ſhall be the more particular in relating, as its conſequences became afterwards of the utmoſt importance to both parties. Bothwell had undoubtedly, by this time, formed a plan for either forcing or prevailing upon Mary to accept of him for a huſband. Darnley's life ſtood in his way; and Mary ſtill appeared to be irreconcileable to Morton, and the murderers of Rizio, whoſe return to Scotland, Murray and Ledington, with their aſſociates, moſt earneſtly wiſhed for. To thoroughly comprehend the motives of the tranſaction I am to open, the reader muſt recollect

that

that Mary's authority ſeems to have been now ſo fixed, that it was not to be ſhaken by faction or party. Murray, Morton, Ledington, and the other congregationiſts, had, in their turns, felt, to their ſevere experience, that the bulk of her ſubjects were not to be ſhaken in their allegiance, notwithſtanding any pretext to the contrary, while they were permitted the exerciſe of their religion. Though the king was now ſeldom called to council by Mary, yet it was ſtill in her power to have admitted him to a ſhare of government, which muſt have rendered his authority reſpectable; and as he expreſſed the moſt bitter reſentment againſt the murderers of Rizio, it became equally deſirable for Murray, as for Bothwell, that the queen's marriage with him might be diſſolved either by divorce or death. A.D. 1566.

Among the other noblemen who were then with Mary at Craigmiller, were the earls of Huntley and Argyle, who were now highly in Mary's favour, and were juſtly conſidered as two noblemen of the greateſt natural intereſt of any in Scotland, the one in the weſt, and the other in the north. They cannot be ſuppoſed to have been ignorant of Darnley's barbarous and ſcandalous behaviour towards the queen; nor is it to be doubted, that they wiſhed her marriage could be ſet aſide. As it was neceſſary for Murray and Ledington to impart their plan to thoſe two noblemen, they

A. D. 1566. repaired to their apartment. There Murray enlarged upon the ingratitude he ſhould be guilty of, if he and his friends ſhould abandon the cauſe of Morton, and his aſſociates, to whom they owed their own recall from baniſhment, and their not being forfeited and declared rebels. The two lords (Argyle having been in the ſame caſe with Murray) ſeemed ſatisfied to concur in any meaſure that could procure the recall of Morton and his friends, provided it gave no offence to Mary. Maitland then propoſed a divorce, as being the moſt effectual inducement for Mary to conſent to recal the exiles; and the two lords having no material objection, all four repaired to Bothwell's apartment; and he agreeing in the ſame opinion, they went in a body to the queen, to whom they made the propoſal of a divorce. Mary objected to this, becauſe it might turn to the prejudice of her ſon. She ſeemed rather inclined to paſs ſome time in France, till her huſband ſhould ſee his errors, and reform his conduct. Maitland aſſured her that they would find means to rid her of her huſband, without doing her ſon any prejudice; and (continued he) * though my lord of Murray, here preſent, is almoſt as true a proteſtant, as your majeſty is a papiſt, he will look through his fingers

* I have here taken the liberty to modernize the language, the ſtile of the original declaration made by the earls of Huntley and Argyle, from which this narrative is taken, being very antiquated.

thereto,

thereto, without ſaying any thing to the ſame. A. D. 1566.
The queen's reply was, "that ſhe would conſent to nothing that might bring a ſtain upon her honour or conſcience:" ſhe therefore deſired that they would let the matter ſtand as it was, till it might be remedied by Providence: "For the ſervice (ſaid ſhe) which you may intend me, may poſſibly turn to my hurt and prejudice." Maitland cloſed the converſation, by deſiring Mary to leave the management of the matter to them, promiſing that all ſhould terminate for the beſt, and be approved of by parliament. The inference made by the earls of Huntley and Argyle from this converſation was, that Murray and Maitland were parties in the murder of the king, which happened ſoon after.

Its authenticity vindicated.

The exceptions taken to the authenticity of this declaration are ſo frivolous, that they deſerve no notice; but we cannot think that the inferences drawn from it, either by the two lords, or by writers who favour Mary, are concluſive againſt Murray and Maitland. The temper of mind of the two noblemen, at the time of their making that declaration, when their miſtreſs was actually accuſed of murdering her huſband by Murray, muſt have rendered them ſo very unfavourable to that nobleman, that I think it is the ſtrongeſt proof of their candour and veracity, that no part of their declaration, ſuppoſing its contents to be

A. D. 1566. ſtrictly true, can amount to a charge of Murray's being participant in the murder. The propoſing to rid, or (to uſe their own terms) to make Mary "quyte of" her huſband, is very applicable to the divorce. As to what Maitland ſaid about Murray's looking through his fingers without ſaying any thing, it more than probably related to the proceedings which might be neceſſary to be held at the court of Rome, (to which he had the ſtrongeſt averſion) as both Mary and her huſband were papiſts. The preſumptions which afterwards appeared of Murray's guilt, are more diſcreditable to his memory than any thing contained in this proteſtation.

Mary ſet out from Craigmiller to the caſtle of Stirling, to be preſent at her ſon's baptiſm, which ſhe deſigned ſhould be very ſplendid, By a letter from le Croc to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, ſhe and her huſband were then upon very ill terms. "His bad deportment (ſays the embaſſador) is incurable; nor can there be any good expected from him, for ſeveral reaſons which I might tell you, was I preſent with you." That he was at Stirling at the time of the baptiſm is certain; but he was not preſent at the ceremony. His abſence has been conſtrued greatly to Mary's diſadvantage, as if it had been owing to her not allowing him wherewithal to make a decent appearance; but this ſeems to be a groundleſs charge. Mary, who naturally loved pomp and magnificence, and who

Dated Dec. 23.

Preparations for, and celebration of the baptiſm.

who was anxious about whatever concerned her son, would gladly have wiſhed for his father's preſence at the ceremony, had not Elizabeth inſtructed her embaſſador not to give him the title of king *; nor need we ſearch for a far- A. D. 1566.

* Dr. Robertſon, in his Hiſtory of Scotland, vol. i. p. 388, has made ſome pretty extraordinary obſervations upon this head, in expreſs contradiction to Camden, who had the very beſt opportunities of information. He ſays, "Firſt, that no ſuch thing as Bedford being commanded by Elizabeth not to give Darnley the title of king, is to be found among Bedford's inſtructions."

Anſwer. No ſuch thing is to be found among Tamworth's. We do not find that Tamworth was inſtructed to refuſe Darnley the royal title; and yet it is moſt certain that he refuſed to accept even of a paſs, which was ſo neceſſary for his ſafety, becauſe it was ſigned by Darnley as a king. There was no occaſion for Elizabeth to give Bedford any ſuch inſtruction, becauſe it was a ſtanding maxim with Elizabeth, as appears in the caſe of Arundel of Wardour, not to allow her ſubjects to accept of any mark of honour or nobility, far leſs of ſovereignty, from any foreign power, without her conſent.

"Secondly, Bedford's advice (ſays the doctor) to the queen, by Melvil, is utterly inconſiſtent with Camden's aſſertion."

Anſwer. Melvil's advice is ſo far from being inconſiſtent, that it ſeems to ſtrengthen Camden's aſſertion. Melvil does not ſpeak a ſingle word of Bedford's giving any advice on that head to the queen. All he ſays is, that Bedford deſired him to requeſt her majeſty to entertain her huſband as ſhe had done at the beginning; but not a ſyllable of his giving him the title of king.

"A paper (continues the doctor) printed in his Appendix, number 18, proves the ſame thing."

Anſwer. That paper proves the very reverſe. Elizabeth there mentions her being offended with Darnley's diſloyalty, "both (ſays ſhe to Mary) in marriage of you, and in other undutiful uſages towards me, his ſovereign." Elizabeth, indeed, afterwards mentions the good offices ſhe had employed to reconcile Mary to her huſband; but not a word of giving him the title of king, or that can invalidate Camden's aſſertion, which is the great point in this caſe.

"Thirdly, Le Croc (ſays the doctor), the French reſident, mentions the king's abſence; but without giving that reaſon for it, which has been founded on Camden's words, though, if that had

A. D. 1566. ther reaſon for his abſence from the ceremony. The ſtates, or rather the privy-council of Scot-

had been the real one, he would ſcarce have failed to mention it."

Anſwer. This is one of the moſt uncritical obſervations I have met with. Only a few, perhaps, of many letters of le Croc, written on this occaſion, have come to our hands. The firſt in the page referred to by the doctor, is dated the ſecond of December, ſeveral days before the earl of Bedford's arrival in Scotland: the ſecond is dated the twenty-third of December, at which time he was under ſo ſtrict a prohibition from his court not to correſpond with Darnley; that he refuſed to ſee him, though three times earneſtly requeſted. Le Croc therefore might very naturally be in the dark, as to Darnley's true motives for abſenting himſelf from the baptiſm. Add to this, that Mary, who piqued herſelf, at this time, upon her friendſhip with Elizabeth, and made ſo great a parade of it before the foreign embaſſadors, cannot be ſuppoſed to have been very forward in telling them, that if her huſband appeared, the Engliſh miniſter would not give him the title of king.

"Fourthly, Le Croc (ſays the doctor) informs his court, that on account of the difference betwixt the king and the queen, he had refuſed to hold any further correſpondence with the former, though he appears, in many inſtances, to have been his great confident."

Anſwer. I cannot perceive what uſe the doctor can make of this argument, which has been anſwered in the laſt paragraph.

"Fifthly, As the king (ſays Dr. Robertſon) was not preſent at the baptiſm, he ſeems to have been excluded from any ſhare in the ordinary adminiſtration of buſineſs. Two acts of privy-council, one on the twentieth, and the other on the twenty-firſt of December, are found in Keith, 562. They both run in the queen's name alone. The king ſeems not to have been preſent. This could not be owing to Elizabeth's inſtructions to Bedford."

Anſwer. This argument would have had ſome weight, if the king had never done any thing to offend Mary, nor given her any occaſion to alienate her affections from him, which the doctor himſelf repeatedly owns he had done. The moſt ſtrenuous advocates for Mary may reſt her juſtification upon that ſingle point; and let me add, that if at that time ſhe deprived him of all ſhare of the government, ſhe repaired a moſt illegal breach ſhe had made in the conſtitution, and acted a wiſe part both for herſelf

land, had granted the queen a taxation of twelve thouſand pounds, that is, ſix thouſand pounds to be raiſed by the ſpiritual ſtate, four thouſand by the barons and freeholders, and two thouſand by the burghs. This was a pretty extraordinary ſtretch of power in the privy-council; but to give it ſome appearance of law, I perceive that eight commiſſioners or burghs were preſent. A. D. 1566.

On the ſeventeenth of December, de Brienne, who had been ſent embaſſador extraordinary from France on the occaſion, carried the prince into the chapel between two rows of nobility and gentry. Le Croc, the French reſident, ſupplied the place of the Savoyard embaſſador; the counteſs of Argyle appeared as proxy for Elizabeth; and the Roman catholic noblemen carried with great form, in the Roman catholic manner, all the utenſils that were Manner of its performance.

herſelf and her people. "This could not be owing (ſays the doctor) to Elizabeth's inſtructions to Bedford." Why not?—Might not Mary be glad of her authority to countenance her proceeding? Mean while I muſt obſerve, that, properly ſpeaking, only one of the acts, mentioned by Keith, can be ſaid to belong to the queen in council; for it is plain ſhe was not preſent the ſecond day, nor was it neceſſary ſhe ſhould.

Having ſaid thus much, candour calls upon me to declare, that I believe the Engliſh embaſſador's not giving Darnley the title of king, though the oſtenſible, was not the only reaſon why he abſented himſelf from the baptiſm; for if Dr. Robertſon had examined one of the letters he quotes, he muſt have obſerved, that ſo far back as the ſecond of December, fifteen days before the baptiſm, Darnley had formed a reſolution not to be preſent at the ceremony; and Le Croc always ſpeaks of that reſolution as being a whim of Darnley's.

to

A. D. 1566. to be employed in the ceremony. They were met in the entry of the chapel by the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, with other popiſh prelates and dignitaries, and the baptiſm was performed (all but the ceremony of the ſpittle, which was omitted by the queen's particular order) by the archbiſhop, according to the Romiſh ritual. The prince was named Charles James, and his titles proclaimed to be prince and ſteward of Scotland, duke of Rothſay, earl of Carrick, lord of the iſles, and baron of Renfrew. The earl of Bedford, with the proteſtant lords, ſtood without the chapel, during the baptiſm; but Mary performed the honours of the ceremony with the greateſt politeneſs and good manners, though ſhe never was known, when retired, to be more ſurcharged with grief and melancholy, than ſhe was at that very time. This was owing to the terms on which ſhe ſtood with her huſband, who, for the reaſons we have already ſeen, had abſented himſelf from the baptiſm. Even archbiſhop Spotſwood writes with an air of coolneſs upon that ſubject, while Buchanan is outrageous in his abuſe of Mary, for her diſreſpect and neglect of her huſband; but admitting that he was totally diſregarded at the time by Mary, can we blame her, after what had happened, for humbling a man, who had repaid all her unexampled partiality in his favour, with brutal inſults and treaſonable attempts againſt

againſt her crown and perſon? Can it be ſurprizing that ſhe diſliked the preſence of a man at the baptiſm of a child, whoſe exiſtence he had endangered by a ruffian aſſaſſination in her preſence? A. D. 1566.

Preſents made to the Engliſh embaſſadors.

The rejoicings and maſquerades upon this occaſion were extraordinary, and continued for ſome days after the baptiſm. The earl of Bedford had preſented the queen, in Elizabeth's name, with a magnificent font of gold, weighing three hundred and thirty-three ounces, of moſt curious workmanſhip; and Elizabeth, the more to diſtinguiſh the occaſion, had ordered ſome of her principal courtiers, particularly Mr. Carey, eldeſt ſon of the lord Hundſon, and Hatton, who, next to Leiceſter, was her greateſt favourite, to attend the earl of Bedford; and they were joined by a number of the chief barons and gentry of the north of England, with the principal officers of Berwick. Mary, ſenſible of the great honour intended her, treated them with ſo much diſtinction, that the French, and other foreigners, ſeemed not a little diſguſted at her partiality. Before the earl of Bedford took his leave, he was preſented with a rich chain of diamonds (for ſo it is called by Melvil) worth two thouſand crowns. Mr. Carey received a chain of pearl, and a fine diamond ring. Mr. Hatton had a chain, with her majeſty's picture, and a ring; and ſix other perſons of rank re-

A. D. 1566. received, each of them, a chain. The earl of Bedford was highly pleaſed with his entertainment, but lamented the differences between the queen and her huſband; and before his return to Berwick, he engaged Sir James Melvil, who was ſent to attend him, to counſel Mary to reſtore her huſband to her favour as formerly, becauſe it might contribute equally to her honour and intereſt. That ſuch an advice ſhould be given by an embaſſador from Elizabeth is not at all ſurprizing; but Mary muſt have been the weakeſt of women, had ſhe followed it. There was not a ſpecies of treaſon or profligacy of which Darnley was not guilty; and had ſhe degraded him from the honours to which ſhe had ſo inconſiderately raiſed him, and brought him to a capital trial, all Europe, and impartial poſterity, muſt have applauded her juſtice.

Departure of the earl of Bedford.

When the earl of Bedford took leave of Mary, ſhe charged him with ſome diſpatches to Elizabeth, in which ſhe complained of the injurious ſpeeches againſt her ſucceſſion, which had been made by Dalton in the houſe of commons, and recommended the archduke of Auſtria to her as a huſband. She likewiſe complained of the earl of Northumberland and his brother's exorbitant rigour in demanding an extravagant ranſom from the lord Keith, ſon of the earl of Mariſchal, who had been their priſoner for eight or nine years, alledging,

ing, that their demand was contrary to an ancient march-law, eſtabliſhed between the earls of Douglas and Northumberland. A. D. 1566.

Mary had ſpent the Chriſtmas holidays at the houſes of Drummond and Tullibardine. Her huſband, in the mean while, left Stirling with an intention to go to Peebles; but went to Glaſgow, where his father reſided, and where he fell dangerouſly ill. He was impelled to this by certain reports which prevailed at this time, and were equally alarming to him as to Mary. A ſervant, one Walcar, belonging to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, came to Mary at Stirling, and informed her, that it was publicly ſaid, that Darnley and his father, and ſome of the nobility, intended to crown the young prince; after which, the king was to take the regency into his own hands. When Mary gave orders for canvaſſing this matter farther, one Haigate, another ſervant of the archbiſhop, was fixed upon as Walcar's author; but upon his examination, he denied the facts alledged by Walcar, though he confeſſed that he heard the report that the king was to be ſent to priſon. This coming to the earl of Lenox's ears, he acquainted his ſon with it, who probably, on that account, took refuge with his father at Glaſgow. Indiſpoſition of Darnley.

Mary returning to Stirling, went from thence to Edinburgh with her young ſon. Hearing of her huſband's illneſs, ſhe went to

A. D. 1566. Glaſgow, where ſhe attended him, during his indiſpoſition, with ſo much tenderneſs, that it was publicly ſaid an entire reconciliation between them had taken place. When he was in a condition to travel, he was put into a litter; and, the queen attending him, by eaſy journies, he was brought to Edinburgh. Archbiſhop Spotſwood ſays, that his illneſs proceeded from poiſon, which, when we conſider the character of Bothwell, is by no means unlikely; but biſhop Leſley ſays that his diſtemper was venereal.

The earl of Morton and his friends pardoned.

In the mean while, Bothwell, who ſtill preſerved his aſcendency at court, had prevailed with Mary to pardon the earl of Morton, and his friends, whoſe activity in Rizio's murder encouraged him, with the greateſt reaſon, to hope, that they would be equally uſeful in that which he was now meditating. Mary was poſſibly the leſs averſe to gratify Bothwell, as ſhe thought her authority to be now ſo well eſtabliſhed, that ſhe might venture upon her favourite ſcheme of, at leaſt, procuring a toleration to the Roman catholic religion within her dominions. How far Bothwell was in the ſecret of her intention does not appear, or whether he promiſed her any aſſiſtance from the reſtored exiles. We know, however, that at this time, ſhe held a correſpondence with the court of Rome; and that pope Pius the fifth conſigned to her a preſent

of

of twenty thouſand crowns by the hands of cardinal Laurea biſhop of Mondovi, whom ſhe was to receive as nuncio into her dominions. Mary certainly gave his holineſs all imaginable aſſurances that ſhe would employ her utmoſt power and credit for re-eſtabliſhing popery in Scotland; and that nothing ſhould be wanting that could teſtify her reſpect for the nuncio. The latter came to Paris in his way to Scotland, and tranſmitted from thence a large ſum to Mary. Notwithſtanding thoſe appearances, it is moſt credible, that Mary was ſenſible how impracticable it was to re-eſtabliſh popery in her dominions. Her experience and good ſenſe muſt have perfectly convinced her of that, though it is more than probable that the largeneſs of the preſent had induced her to exceed in her promiſes to a zealous, credulous, pontif, whoſe liberality on ſuch occaſions was unbounded. That Mary had ſome reſerve, appears pretty plainly from the biſhop of Roſs, who acted as her confeſſor, during her ſickneſs at Jedburgh, writing to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, deſiring him to ſollicit the cardinal of Lorrain to prevail with the nuncio to have patience, and remain at Paris till the baptiſm was over. The ſame letter repreſents, in the ſtrongeſt terms, Mary's piety and maternal care, both of her ſon and people, during her illneſs. It is farther remarkable, that though ſhe profeſſed an unalterable attachment to the Roman catholic

A. D. 1567.

Keith's Appendix, p. 134.

A. D. 1567. catholic religion; yet, in what ſhe thought to be her laſt moments, ſhe goes no further in point of religion, than to recommend to the noblemen about her, that the conſcientious Roman catholics ſhould not be preſſed nor troubled. Had ſhe ſincerely intended them any favour beyond a toleration, we have little room to doubt ſhe would have opened herſelf on ſo ſerious an occaſion; and that one prieſt would not have concealed her ſentiments when writing to another.

Mary brings her huſband to Edinburgh,

Mary having for the conveniency of phyſicians, and her own attendants, carried her huſband to Edinburgh, where they arrived on the 30th of January, he was lodged in a houſe which had formerly belonged to the ſuperior of the church, called Kirk o field, about the place where the univerſity now ſtands. Whoever is acquainted with the low ſituation of Holyrood-houſe, muſt be ſenſible that it is by no means proper for a perſon recovering from ſickneſs. Even quiet and ſolitude were deſirable for a perſon in that condition; and the air of the houſe was ſo good, that the duke of Chatleheraut, and the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, lived in the neighbourhood. Mary, as a proof of her affection for her huſband, lodged with him for ſome days in the ſame houſe.

where he is murdered,

The ſolitude of the place encouraged Bothwell to execute what he had ſo long premeditated. He believed Morton, like himſelf, to be a man

a man of no principle; and he no ſooner was reſtored from his baniſhment, than he directly propoſed that he ſhould join him in murdering the king. Morton, inſtead of being ſtartled at ſo execrable a propoſal, aſked Bothwell whether he had the queen's warrant for the murder. He was anſwered in the negative, but that her majeſty was very earneſt the thing ſhould be executed, becauſe ſhe blamed her huſband more for Rizio's murder than ſhe did Morton. Bothwell at the ſame time employed Douglas, Morton's favourite, and the ſame who had been ſo active in Rizio's death, to perſuade Morton to the murder; but the latter ſtill inſiſted upon the warrant, which he ſaid never was brought him. Bothwell made a new attempt to engage him when every thing was ready for execution, but ſtill without effect *. Mary all this while, A. D. 1567.

* What I have here related concerning Morton's participation in the murder, is taken from his own confeſſion upon the ſcaffold, written by the two clergymen, Mr. John Dury, and Mr. Walter Balquannel, who attended him. This is a curious and remarkable paper, and has all the air of an apology for Morton's conduct. Its inconſiſtencies, however, are glaring, and the contents of it contradictory; for while the criminal acknowledges that he was again and again informed of Bothwell's intention to murder the king, he ſolemnly declares that he "never had art or part, or counſel, in that matter." His reaſon for not revealing it is trifling and childiſh almoſt beyond belief. "To whom (ſaid he) ſhould I have revealed it? To the queen? She was the doer thereof. I was minded to reveal it to the king's father, but yet I durſt not for my life; for I knew him to be ſuch a child, that there was nothing that was told him but he would reveal it to her again; and therefore I durſt in no ways reveal it." But why not reveal it to the king's grandfather, who was at no farther diſtance than Glaſgow? Why not to the public? And if he

A. D. 1567. was dividing her time between the affairs of ſtate, and her attendance on her ſon and huſ-

he thought himſelf in ſuch terrible danger, how eaſy was it for him to have left a full account of it in writing, and to have retired to Berwick, where he was ſure of being well received, and have waited there till he ſhould ſee how it would operate. I have been at pains to collate this confeſſion, or conference as it is called, with that printed in the Appendix to Crawfurd of Drumſoy's Memoirs, and with a paper in No. 291 of the Harleian MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum. Tho' they agree in the main, yet I obſerve one variation in the paſſage above quoted; for, according to the Manuſcript, Morton alledged, that the queen was only ſuſpected of the murder, but the printed account makes him ſay that ſhe was "the doer thereof."

Three other glaring inconſiſtencies appear in the ſame apology, for I can call it no other. Firſt, the earl is made to ſay, that if he had received the queen's conſent under her hand, he would have baniſhed himſelf again till he had ſeen further; a declaration which we can ſcarcely ſuppoſe a man of his ſenſe, at ſuch a time, to have made. Secondly, he acknowledges that he never attempted to diſſuade Bothwell from the murder; an acknowledgment that is pregnant with the moſt unfavourable preſumptions againſt his memory. Thirdly, he owns that he received Mr. Archibald Douglas into his company even after he knew by his (Douglas's) own confeſſion, that he was actually concerned in the murder.

To the above conſiderations I ſhall add, that the Continuator of Hollinſhed (who ſeems to have been better acquainted than any of his contemporaries, with the affairs of Scotland) is of opinion, that this confeſſion is really an apology, "drawn up for the earl by ſuch of the preſbytery as were preſent at his execution, and favoured him in all reſpects, ſeeking to clear him of any evil impoſed againſt him." The ſame Continuator in the uncaſtrated edition of his Hiſtory intimates, that he had a copy of the ſame confeſſion, but that he omitted part of it out of tenderneſs to people living. In his caſtrated edition he ſays, "that Morton opened a large diſcourſe, laying the cauſe, the contriving, and the execution of the murder on great perſons now living."

Upon the whole, I lay indeed great weight upon this paper, which archbiſhop Spotſwood undoubtedly ſaw, becauſe it may certainly be relied upon as to every circumſtance of Morton's guilt, however favourable it may be to his memory. I ſhall but juſt add, that according to archbiſhop Spotſwood, Morton's confeſſion

band, for whom she expressed an unremitting affection. On the 9th of February, she attended him till eleven at night, when she left him that she might be present at a masqued ball, given at her palace on account of the marriage of one of her domestics. Before morning, the inhabitants of Edinburgh were alarmed with a most dreadful explosion, occasioned by the house where the king lodged being blown up with gunpowder; and his dead body next day, with that of his servant, who slept in the next room to him, was found in a neighbouring garden, but without any marks of violence, and seemingly untouched by the explosion. A.D. 1567.

Though it does not fall within the province of general history to descend to minute particulars; yet as every circumstance relating to this atrocious murder is of importance, it requires to be cleared up. That Bothwell was the principal actor in the tragedy can admit of no doubt; but Mary must have been worse than a

Observations on the manner of his death.

session was such that it induced the king (James the sixth) to mitigate his sentence of hanging and quartering, into beheading and suffering his body to be buried. Though this is a favour in which noble personages are generally indulged; yet when we consider the prepossessions of James against Morton, and the crime for which he suffered; we can scarcely suppose that his sentence would have been mitigated (for it stood in its original force till the confession was made) unless it had been somewhat more ample than what has come to our hands; not to mention, that the hint given by Hollinshed's Continuator concerning living persons, procured an order from court for cancelling that leaf of this work among others.

A. D. 1567. fiend, if ſhe could divert herſelf with dancing the very moment of the cataſtrophe. It appeared by the evidences of thoſe who were examined, and by the inſpection of the body, that ſoon after her departure from the king, he and his bedchamber-man had been ſtifled, or ſtrangled (for no mention is made by good authority of his being ſtabbed). It is probable that Bothwell was perſonally preſent at the murder; and that he had returned to the queen's palace before the houſe was blown up. He was in company with Mary when the exploſion was heard, and ſent out by her to enquire into the matter. Upon his return he affected great aſtoniſhment, told her of the king's murder, but pretended that ſome powder lodged in the houſe where he was, had accidentally taken fire, and killed his majeſty and his gentlemen of the bedchamber. Upon this the queen retired to her cloſet, and wept bitterly. Archbiſhop Spotſwood agrees, in the main, with the account I have given; but I am inclined to believe the author of Melvil's Memoirs as to the manner in which the king was put to death: "Many (ſays he) ſuſpected that the earl of Bothwell had ſome enterprize againſt him; few durſt advertiſe him, becauſe he told all again to ſome of his own ſervants, who were not all honeſt. Yet lord Robert, earl of Orkney, told him, that if he retired not haſtily out of that place, it would coſt him his life, which he told again to the queen; and my lord

lord Robert denied that ever he ſpoke it. This advertiſement moved the earl of Bothwell to haſte forward his enterprize: he had before laid a train of powder under the houſe where the king did lodge, and in the night did blow up the ſaid houſe with the powder; but it was ſpoken, that the king was taken forth and brought down to a ſtable, where a napkin was ſtopped in his mouth, and he therewith ſuffocated." A. D. 1567.

Further accounts of it.

Sanderſon, a writer of queen Mary's life, ſays, that one Sir Roger Aſton, an Engliſh gentleman, and the earl of Dunbar, were in the houſe with the king; and that ſmelling the fire of a match, both of them leapt out of the window into the garden; that the king catched hold of his ſword, and deſired them to run and acquaint the queen that treaſon was intended both againſt him and her; that immediately armed men ruſhed into the room, ſeized and ſtabbed the king, led him in the garden, and afterwards blew up the houſe. This ſtory is told by a profeſſed advocate for Mary; and he ſays, that Aſton himſelf afterwards repeated it, when he went to England with king James. Many circumſtances, however, tend to diſprove it. There was then no ſuch title in Scotland as an earl of Dunbar, though Sir George Home, who afterwards bore that honour, might then have attended Darnley's perſon; but the ſtrongeſt evidence

A. D. 1567. againſt Aſton is the manner of the king's death, as it is certain that no mark of violence appeared upon his body. I ſhall here cloſe this melancholy ſubject; but ſhall be unavoidably obliged to reſume it in the ſubſequent part of Mary's hiſtory.

Informations ſent to Mary from abroad. I have already been ſo explicit as to Darnley's character, that I can now only add, that beſides the beauty and gracefulneſs of his perſon, he was an accompliſhed maſter in horſemanſhip and all warlike exerciſes. He had a taſte for muſic, and had received a complete court education. It is certain, that ſome days before the murder was perpetrated, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow ſent one Dury his ſervant, and adviſed Mary, upon the information of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that ſome treaſon was intended againſt her. The archbiſhop heard ſome murmurs of the ſame kind among other people, and applied to the Spaniard to know the particulars; but he declined entering upon them, though he ſaid he had written to his maſter, to know whether he ſhould give the archbiſhop any farther information. The archbiſhop then applied to the queen-mother, who thought that Mary was in no danger, and approved of her having pardoned Morton and his accomplices.

Dated January 27. The archbiſhop cloſes his diſpatch with an advice to Mary, to order the captains of her guard to be diligent in their office. Mary's anſwer to this letter carries with it the moſt genuine marks

marks of ſincerity and innocence. She there declares, that ſhe would rather loſe her life than not take a vigorous vengeance upon the murderers. She ſays, that the treaſon was intended againſt her as well as her huſband; and that it was by mere accident that ſhe did not lie in the ſame houſe with him that very night, as ſhe had done moſt part of the laſt week; that when ſhe left him at midnight, ſhe was attended by moſt of the lords then in town; and that it happened ſhe did not tarry all night by reaſon of ſome maſque in the abbey; but (adds ſhe) we believe it was not chance, but God that put it in our head. The inference we naturally form from this letter is, that as moſt of the nobility were at the king's houſe the night the tragedy was acted; and that as a maſqued dance (a diverſion of which Mary was fond) was intended at the court, her leaving the king for that night was accidental. We cannot fairly ſuppoſe that ſhe would have impoſed upon her ambaſſador in matters that were ſo publicly known. A.D. 1567.

With regard to the part acted by the earl of Murray in this murder, I can by no means think him either ſo innocent as his friends, or ſo guilty as his enemies, have repreſented. It is to the diſgrace of that age and country, that we muſt obſerve, the conſequences of the feudal inſtitutions, by emancipating the great landholders and noblemen in a manner from the common

Practice of murder in Scotland.

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Practice of murder in Scotland.

A. D. 1567. common law, rendered murder a very venial, and not ſeldom a very profitable practice. Notwithſtanding all the proviſions made by parliament againſt it, this evil had been gaining ground ever ſince the reign of James III. and the French adminiſtration, which ſucceeded the reign of James the fifth, was ſo far from abating it, that it was thought to be of ſervice to the government, by preventing great families from uniting among themſelves. Whatever commendable qualities the earl of Murray might have, we cannot ſuppoſe him to be ſingular in his opinion of a crime that had gained a kind of credit by cuſtom; and the utmoſt that can be allowed to his memory is, that he might think himſelf innocent, if he was not really an actor in that ſcene. Many circumſtances, which would be premature to mention here, concur to ſtrengthen this opinion. That he was not upon the ſpot when the murder was perpetrated, is certain; for he had the day before acquainted the queen, that he was obliged to go to the country to ſee his wife, who was indiſpoſed.

Burial of Darnley.

Various were the conjectures of the aſtoniſhed public, with regard to the authors of the horrid tragedy; but the general ſuſpicion fell upon Bothwell, and his guilt is at this day indiſputable. I ſhall hereafter have an opportunity of proving unanſwerably, that the writers who throw any imputation on the memory of Mary,

Mary, do it upon grounds that would be rejected as evidence in the trial of the meaneſt felon. Buchanan's virulence againſt her on this occaſion, is not more unjuſtifiable than it is ridiculous. He talks of omens and prodigies attending the murder, which would be laughed at in a monkiſh legend, and which ſhew the writer to have been actuated by the ſame weakneſſes which he ſo ſeverely cenſures in others. His miſrepreſentations are almoſt as groſs as his abſurdities. He ſays, that the nobles decreed a ſtately and honourable funeral for the king; but that the queen ordered it ſo that he was buried in the night-time, by porters, without any funeral pomp; and that, to encreaſe the indignity, ſhe ordered the body to be depoſited near that of David Rizio, as if ſhe intended to pleaſe the ghoſt of that wretch by the ſacrifice of her huſband's life. The ſarcaſtic, though, in reality, unmeaning turn given to this incident, ſufficiently proves the writer's imagination to be overheated on the ſubject; but the facts themſelves happened to be falſe. That the burying was private is not denied; but the body was embalmed, and had the other funeral honours properly conferred on it. It was then attended by the juſtice-clerk, the lord Traquair, and ſeveral other gentlemen, and depoſited in the ſame vault which contained that of the queen's father, his firſt queen, and thoſe of his two infant children. The privacy of the burial was a matter A. D. 1567.

A. D. 1567. ter of prudence, if not neceſſity, becauſe Darnley, as well as the queen, having always profeſſed the Roman catholic religion, could not have been buried according to the popiſh ritual and ceremonies, without giving public offence.—As the eccleſiaſtic affairs of this reign are cloſely interwoven with the civil, I am here to take a view of them as they ſtood at the time of Darnley's death.

Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

A general aſſembly of the clergy (being the thirteenth) had met on the twenty-fifth of December, 1566. It is to the honour of its members I mention, that they were actuated with a zeal and ſpirit worthy of the pureſt ages of primitive chriſtianity. The legiſlature had aſſigned them a certain proportion of the church's revenue; but though far inadequate to their decent ſubſiſtence, it was not regularly paid, and many of the preachers were deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life. This was owing partly not only to Mary's turn for magnificence and expence, which had of late exhauſted her exchequer; but to her growing diſlike of the preachers, (of Knox particularly) and the hopes ſhe entertained of re-eſtabliſhing ſome of the moſt dangerous powers of popery, as an inlet perhaps to the whole. This ſhameful neglect of the clergy was, in a great meaſure, owing to the zealous congregationiſts, who had acquired, as has been already obſerved, ſo large a ſhare of the church's property. So far

far as I can perceive, not one of the noblemen who watched and oppoſed the re-eſtabliſhment of popery, ever dreamed of beſtowing the leaſt part of the church's ſpoil upon the Reformed preachers, to whoſe labours many of them were indebted for all they were worth. The preachers bore their hardſhips with unexampled magnanimity; but their neceſſities became ſo preſſing, that the queen at laſt made them a tender of a particular ſum in money and victual, extending to the ſum of ten thouſand pounds Scots, and four hundred chaldron of victual, which a modern author perhaps overrates, when he ſays, that it can ſcarce be reckoned equal to nine thouſand pounds ſterling *. When the aſſembly met, the aſſignation was laid before the members, and referred to a committee, who reported that their neceſſities were ſuch, as compelled them to accept of it, tho' they were very ſenſible of their legal rights. They added, that they were willing to ſubſiſt upon what ſhould be given them, was it only bread and water; but that they would not deſiſt from their vocation. The members next came to ſeveral very ſpirited reſolutions againſt the ingroſſers of the church's patrimony, and the miſapplication of the tythes.

A.D. 1567.

Dr. Robertſon.

But the great grievance under which the proteſtant religion in Scotland now laboured,

The archbiſhop's powers revived,

* This aſſignation is the act of privy-council, which Dr. Robertſon ſays Darnley was not preſent at paſſing.

A. D. 1567. Spotſwood. aroſe from Bothwell, whoſe infernal ambition prompted Mary to what ſhe was of herſelf but too prone, to iſſue a commiſſion, granting to the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's his antient juriſdiction, in confirming teſtaments, giving collation of benefices, and other matters that were formerly adjudged in the ſpiritual courts. It is not to be denied, that this commiſſion was a wide ſtep towards the re-eſtabliſhment of popery; but at the ſame time it cannot be imagined, that Mary would have granted it, had ſhe not thought herſelf ſuperior to all oppoſition within her own dominions. Bothwell, however, as may appear by the ſequel, had a farther view in reſtoring thoſe powers to the archbiſhop. His commiſſion ſuperſeded the powers which Mary had veſted in the commiſſaries ſhe had appointed for executing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within his province; and he no ſooner received it, than he came to Edinburgh with a retinue of a hundred horſe. Knox. The earl of Murray very properly applied to the magiſtrates of Edinburgh for preſerving the public peace, which was in the moſt imminent danger, if the archbiſhop ſhould open his commiſſion, and proceed immediately to the execution of his revived office. A committee of the town-council being appointed to make the proper repreſentations to the prelate on that head, he very prudently deſiſted for that time. Mr. Knox was not ſo moderate.

moderate. He carried excommunications and church cenſures to the ſame height they were at in the time of popery. He inſtituted public faſts on account of the revival of that religion in Scotland, and the apoſtacy of ſome leaders of the Reformation. The reader who has the curioſity to peruſe his writings, muſt conclude, that he thought the whole patrimony of the church (though the wealth of the clergy was one of the chief cauſes urged for the Reformation) ought to belong to the Reformed preachers. In ſhort, he wrote a circular letter addreſſed to all his brethren, exhorting them to oppoſe the archbiſhop's new commiſſion; and that I may not ſeem to miſrepreſent him, I ſhall lay the latter part of it before my reader. "Let this our letter and requeſt bear witneſs, before God, before his church, before the world, and before your own conſciences, that we require you, that have profeſſed the Lord Jeſus within this realm, as well nobility as gentlemen, burgeſſes and commons, to deliberate upon the ſtate of things preſent, and eſpecially, whether this uſurped tyranny of that Roman antichriſt ſhall be any longer ſuffered within this realm, ſeeing that by juſt law it is already aboliſhed? Secondly, Whether that we ſhall be bound to feed idle bellies upon the patrimony of the kirk, which juſtly appertaineth to God's miniſters? Thirdly, Whether that idolatry and other abominations,

A. D. 1567.

but oppoſed.

Keith.

A. D. 1567. that now are more than evident, ſhall be any longer maintained and defended? Anſwer us, as ye will anſwer unto God, in whoſe fear we ſend theſe our letters unto you, leſt that our ſilence ſhould be counted for conſent unto ſuch impiety. God take from our hearts the blind love of ourſelves, and all ungodly fear, Amen. Let us know your minds with expedition." The ſubſequent calamities that happened in the kingdom, diverted the attention of the public from this matter.

Mary's officers of ſtate. At the time of Darnley's murder, the following were officers of ſtate: Sir Richard Maitland of Ledington was lord-privy-ſeal, and his ſon principal ſecretary of ſtate; Robert Richardſon, commendator of St. Mary's iſle, was lord-treaſurer; Mr. John Spence lord-advocate; Sir James Balfour was lord clerk-regiſter; and Sir John Ballenden was lord juſtice-clerk. To them we may add Mr. James Mac Gill, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, who were lords of ſeſſion, and in high reputation with all the congregationiſts. All thoſe perſons were devoted to the intereſts of Murray, Morton, and Maitland, and acted principal parts in the ſucceeding ſcenes of Mary's misfortunes. I mention their names only to prove, that ſhe could have very little influence in the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice, or in over-ruling the trial of Darnley's murderers, if thoſe officers of ſtate were in earneſt that they ſhould be brought to juſtice.

On the twelfth of February, Mary ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed, offering the ſum of two thouſand pounds, with a reaſonable annuity, to be paid to any perſon who ſhould firſt reveal the deviſers, counſellors, or actual committers of the king's murder, and likewiſe a pardon of the crime, although he were participant and culpable thereof. So ample a reward and remiſſion betrays no conſcious guilt in Mary; but it is not mentioned with the weight that is due to it by hiſtorians. Bothwell was not only ſuſpected, but named as the murderer; and a few days after, a paper was affixed to the door of the Tolbooth, which was then the parliament-houſe, as well as the common priſon of Edinburgh, naming the earl of Bothwell, Mr. James Balfour, the parſon of Fiſk, Mr. David Chalmers, and black Mr. John Spence. Some writers have added, that the ſame paper threw ſome imputations upon Mary, as if ſhe had been acceſſary to the murder; and mention is made of another paper being paſted up, containing an offer made by the author to ſubſcribe his name, and make good the diſcovery, provided the money was paid into an indifferent hand. The ſtate of the Reformed religion at that time in Scotland, and the ferment which had been raiſed in the minds of the people by Knox's circular letters, were extremely unfavourable to Mary; and the ſway which Bothwell was known to have at court,

A. D. 1567.

Proclamations for diſcovering the murderers.

A. D. 1567. court, naturally introduced her name into the ſubject of her huſband's murder *, by no means to her advantage. New papers pretending new diſcoveries were every day produced. Portraits of Bothwell, and ſketches of his perſon, and thoſe of the other murderers, were ſcattered about the ſtreets, and the pulpits reſounded with his guilt.

Mary proſecutes her huſband's murderers.

The memory of Mary has been moſt cruelly abuſed for her behaviour at this juncture, as if ſhe had been remiſs in enquiring after, and proſecuting the murderers; but how is that charge proved? Every meaſure ſhe took directly refutes it. It was in the power of any villain to throw out dark advertiſements to the public, ſuch as that I have mentioned, and to ſtab the moſt innocent perſons; but are ſuch intimations to ſupply the place of evidence without better grounds? Was it poſſible for Mary to do more than ſhe did towards diſcovering the perpetrators of the murder; and ſetting declamation and groundleſs ſuſpicion aſide, does it, in fact, appear that ſhe omitted a ſingle circumſtance that could contribute to the diſcovery? Let us give the utmoſt weight to com-

* Buchanan, in his Detection, has given us a letter of the ſame date, and pretty much to the ſame purpoſe, though in ſtronger terms, and more reflecting upon Mary than that publiſhed by Mr. Keith. I mention this only to ſhew with what care we ought to peruſe even the pretended records that are brought by the enemies of that unfortunate princeſs to blacken her memory.

mon

mon fame, and admit the influence that it ought to have had upon Mary, and we ſhall find her conduct, even in that reſpect, irreproachable. But the reader is, all this while, to remember, that I ſpeak from facts, and without regard to idle ſurmiſes, or unauthenticated ſuſpicions. A. D. 1567.

Mary's miniſters and officers of ſtate were under no controul in their enquiries after the murderers; nor is it pretended they were under any. That they were influenced, however, is paſt doubt, and that too by Bothwell, notwithſtanding the deteſtation in which they afterwards affected to hold him. They enquired after the authors of the advertiſements, and the drawers of the portraits, but all in vain; and at laſt it was made capital to diſperſe ſuch writings or repreſentations. That her nobility and counſellors were not in earneſt to diſcover the murderers, muſt appear to common ſenſe, when it is conſidered that Morton, to whom Bothwell had ſo often applied to be concerned in the murder, was among them. As to Mary, ſhe diſcharged her duty in a manner that ought to convince the moſt prejudiced againſt her of her innocence. One James Murray, a brother of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, had paſted up ſome papers on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, reflecting upon her as being concerned in the murder. She immediately ſummoned him to appear before her council; and Remiſſneſs of her miniſters.

leſt

A.D. 1567. leſt he ſhould eſcape out of the kingdom, ſhe ſent orders to all the chief towns in Scotland deſcribing his perſon, and making it even capital for any maſter of a ſhip to carry him out of the kingdom; but it does not appear that ever he was brought to juſtice.

She removes to Seton.

Mary's ſituation, at this time, precluded her from knowing the ſentiments of the public with regard to Bothwell. She remained immured within the caſtle of Edinburgh, in a room hung with black, till her phyſicians declared her life to be in danger from the cloſe recluſe manner in which ſhe lived, and perſuaded her to remove to Seton, (which is but ſix miles from that capital) for the benefit of an excellent air. She was viſited, before ſhe left Edinburgh, by Killigrew, who was ſent by Elizabeth to condole with her upon her huſband's death; and the French miniſter, Le Croc, who had been ſome time at the court of England.

END of the SIXTH VOLUME.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM